

Adam Otteley May, 1702. Batholomew



ROMVLVS

ROMA

TARQVIN



ROMVLVS
AND
TARQVIN
First
Written in Italian
By the
Maestro D'ordine
Malvezzi

And now
taught English,
by
W. L.



LONDON
Printed by
I. H. for Iohn
Benson, and
are to be sold at
his Shopp under St.
Dunstons Church
Fleet street.
1637.



Will Marshall sculpsit

R O M V L V S
AND
T A R Q V I N .

First
Written in Italian
By
The Marques *Virgilio*
Malvezzi:

And now taught English,

BY

IEL HCL.

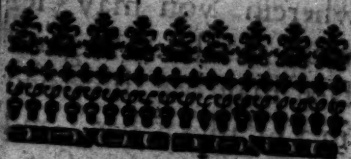
L O N D O N ,
Printed by I. H. for I O H N
B E N S O N , and are to be sold at
his Shop in Saint Dunstons
Church-yard, 1637.

Adam Ottley April 1702
Ball: Coll: Oxon
e Dono Jo: Baron Hughes
Coll: Socii

322.54

21 1288

KE



TO
THE MOST
Sacred Majesty of
CHARLES the first,
Monarch of Great
Britaine, France,
and Ireland,
&c.



IVE me leave,
SIR, I be-
seech you, to
present your
Majestie with a Glasse,
3 where-

THE EPISTLE

wherein you may see
your Soule : A good
face may bee discerned
in a Glasse of Jeat ; and
if *contraria juxta se po-*
sita , doe *magis eluces-*
cere ; if contraries doe
best appeare, when most
directly opposed ; how
can CHARLES *the*
Gracious be better drawn
to the Life, than by the
description of TAR-
QUIN *the Proud* ? How
can the unparallel'd,
CHARLES *the Chaste*,
be better portraited, than
by the deciphering of
TAR-

DEDICATORY.

TARQUIN *the foule*
Ravisher? How can the
happinesse your *Ma-*
jesties Realmes enjoy
(and long may they en-
joy it) under your *Ma-*
jesties blessed Govern-
ment, better appeare,
than by the making
knowne what Miseriës
and Slavery the *Romans*
endured under the Rule
of TARQUIN *the Ty-*
rant? And how, SIR,
can your Pietie, and reli-
gious Zeale, bee better
manifested, than by the
selfe-deification of RO-
MULUS?

THE EPISTLE

MULUS? who though
it be true, he had the ho-
nour of being the first
Founder of a *Famous*
People, yet *Non minor est*
virtus quam querere, parta
tueri. Wherein to shew
Tour Majesties Wisdome
and Vigilancie, I need
not to expatiate my selfe.
This Glasse, SIR, is ori-
ginally *Italian*, and those
your *Majestie* knowes
are much better than
ours of *England*, as made
by better Workmen, and
of more refined Mate-
rials. This, SIR, is but
the

DEDICATORY.

the Copy of a Principal,
which, I must confesse,
deserves to be copied by
a much more skilfull
hand; but as it is, SIR, I
humbly beg your *Maje-*
sties gracious Patronage
of it, and your pardon
for my so doing, to

Your Majesties

Humble and Loyall Subject,
and therein most happie,

ICL.

The Copy of a Principal
which I must confess
desires to be copied by
a much more skilful
hand; but as it is
humbly begg'd
that the Learned
of it, and your
for my to doing so

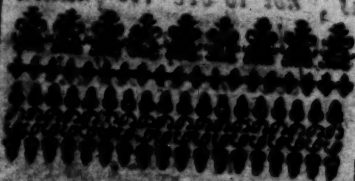
Your humble

Wm. Brouncker
Chancellor of the University

b
m
if
to
pl
th
vo

TO THE READER.

is not to be too much



To the favourable
READER.

THIS Booke in
its native Lan-
guage, I dare
boldly affirme, doth very
well deserve the reading;
if it shall not seeme to thee
to doe so, being thus trans-
planted, the fault is either
thine, or mine; all of fa-
vour I will desire of thee
is,

TO THE READER.

is, not to bee too sudden
in thy censure; for be-
leeve me, it will ad-
mit of second
thoughts.



THE AUTHOUR
to the Reader.

HAVER commented upon, but not yet fully finished the Lives of the seven Kings of Rome. This of *Romulus*, if it like thee the Reader, is the beginning of the Booke; if it like thee not, the end; a few lines, but if bad, not few enough; every Entity is too great, whose formality, is mis-shapen; a few lines, but if good, many: the quality of Good, measures the quantity, and the intensification is that which extends it. I terme him mercenary, who in many sheets bindes up a few precepts; the Readers patience payes him the full price for what hee learns; & he is the worst of thieves,

A whilst

whilst he steales away Time which cannot bee restored: Art is long, life short, which is more spent in reading than profiting, if men delight more to write than instruct: and to profit in the sciences of these dayes, a man must be a better *Athletas* than Academician, for the labour of the armes is no lesse in the largeness of volumes, than is the labour of the braines.

I write to Princes, because I write of Princes; to entertain them with flim-flam tales, is to sinne against the common good; their grievances are cured by quintessences, they ought not to be nauciated with decoctions.

I have dedicated this my worke in my minde, but not publisht it, because I will only have the Reader for my protector, nor doe I looke for any other reward, than to bee praised, or borne withall. Reader, if thou applaudst not my discourse, applaud my good will.

Romulus.



Romulus.

TO write of moderne men is a troublesome businesse; all men commit errors, few having committed them will heare thereof; one must, or flatter them, or say nothing; to comment upon their actions, is to endeavour to teach more by a mans owne example, than by that of others, more to him that writes, than to him that reades; more to be silent, than to be active: The actions of Princes have every other appearance, than that of truth; to relate them as they appeare, partakes of the Epique straine; as they are, of the Satyricall. Flatterers have yet moreover so exalted their good deeds, that the naked truth redounds to the blame of the relation; for the truth of that praise

A 2 which

which is heard, comes short of that which is believed; and some there are who arrive at that height, as they leave no place for flattery, fancying themselves greater than flattery can make them.

Present actions are not with safetie related, nor are they listned unto without danger: well may they be revered, never censured: who puts them in print, seeks after an uncertaine glory, exposes himselfe to a certaine danger; who leaves it to be done by posterity, reapes no other fruit of his present labours, than the meere contemplation of a future imaginary fruitlesse glory. Worldly glory ends with the world, and for us, the world ends with our lives: to have ones thoughts wholly busied upon the good of posterity, is either a more than humane conception, or else a foolish one; to dedicate ones labours to glory alone diabolicall; to accompany them with the good of others, humane:

mane: to have in them no selfe respect, divine. I will avoid the treading of so steepe and intricate a path. I will write of times past, to the time present. The defects of the Sunne, which are with safetie pointed at, reflected in waters, are not without danger of the eyes, scene in a direct line. I will write more of man, than this or that man; for this or that man dyes, and man lives; and my busie *genius* venting it selfe in deeds of old, if they purchase me not the crowne of glory, they will at least serve for a Buckler against envie. The Actions of our Ancestours use to be examined, not maligned, for wee not emulate, but imitate them; we willingly listen to the praises of such who gotten long since out of the reach of envie, seeme by their deeds of fame to raise the weaknesse of mortality; and faults which are found in past actions displease not, whilst they take from the evill opinion of present times.

» Envie, like poyson, workes not
 » where it findes no heat ; dead car-
 » kases are meast for crows and
 » wormes, not men. Death hath on-
 » ly ice enough to extinguish the fire
 » of envie, and leave some ashes of
 » compassion : shee makes us see no
 » one is superiour to another, by
 » her making of us all equall, and by
 » her often changing (by a sudden
 » *Metamorphosis*) the termes of most
 » happie, into titles of misery and
 » povertie.

Romulus his valour, Numa's pi-
 tie, Tullus his fierceneffe, Ancus
 his goodnesse, the vigilancie of
 Lucius, fortune of Servius, and
 impiety of Tarquin shall bee my
 subject.

Procus

ROMULUS.

7

Proculus King of the Albans
had two sons, Amulius
and Numitor, the lat-
ter elder in yeares, the
other of a more working
spirit; the King left his
Kingdome to the el-
der, but the fathers wil,
and brothers prioritie in
yeares, were forced to
give way to the others
more daring spirit.

Stet:
s.

THat Power which Princes
make use of for the maintai-
ning of Reason in the interests of
particular men, they use the very
same to destroy it, in what con-
cernes themselves. Justice came
downe to us from above, to with-
stand violence, mans weaknesse

Comm:
s.

bereaving her of her weapons of choyce, makes her assume force, to extinguish force, but she vanisheth with the planet of her birth, when the sword, which should defend, destroyes her. Princes sometimes keepe her vntoucht by others, that they themselves may commit a rape upon her; they measure her with weapons, and when businesse comes to be concluded of amongst them, hee hath the justest cause, whose strength is greatest; all other manner of proceeding, they thinke onely doth become such who either dare not use violence, or feare to have it used unto themselves. They thinke it no reason for him to command others, who is not able to resist the force of others; neither would subjects be better than their Princes, but equally unjust, were they not more compelled: they who can have recourse to the sword which Justice holds up in her right hand, seldome betake themselves to the ballance

ballance which hangs on her left side.

Nor hath the prerogative of Age any more precedencie in matters of State; men doe not wait for such yeares as doe destroy life, but such as valour may be grounded upon; the selfe-same weapons which Time uses to subdue the body, are by the understanding used to subdue time, whose tyrannie is avoyded, whilst by the meanes of Fame it gets into the bosome of Eternitie; but admit it should yeeld, yet ought we not to honour Time which only workes our destruction.

Amulius is not content to have unthroned his brother Numitor; the taking away of Kingdoms would be but little cru-

A 5 eltie,

eltie, did not the taking
of them ingage a man to
greater; the one springs
from the other, and the
latter is more fruitfull.
Hee feares his brothers
children. Hee kils the
male, nor does the female
sex free him from feare;
if shee chance to have
sons, he thinkes he hath
taught them the art of
bereaving Kingdome.

The Tyrant is afraid of e-
very one, and it is fata^l
that he feares his owne
example; for in that
hee feares every one,
he

*he is not exempted from
fearing, in a manner,
himselfe. He thinkes to
fence himselfe suffici-
ently against fate with-
out blood, by putting her
amongst the Vestals, to
consecrate her virginity
to the gods.*

WOmens weaknesse serveth
for innocencie with Ty-
rants; they meet with more diffi-
culty, where they are least with-
stood; they cannot finde in them
those faults which makes their
cruelty be praised; or faine such
feare in themselves, as may not
make them beare with them. They
suffer them to live, beleeving that
at their pleasure, they may put
them to death; but often times,
through

through Gods infallible judgement, they are throwne downe head-long, as falsifiers of Wisdom.

Women are fit instruments to cause the losse of Kingdomes: nor is it a sufficient remedie to marry them to men of quiet dispositions, if they themselves be of a turbulent spirit; and say no feare ought to be had of them, who can secure himselfe of their off-spring? Children, for the most part, side with the belly, and their change is easie, where are alike qualities: Nor do the people thinke it shame, to change Lord, if they chuse one out of their Masters Family.

Amulius was wicked, I confesse, but he knew not how sufficiently to make use of his wickednesse, he bereft his brother of his kingdom, his Neece of her liberty, and tooke from neither of them their lives. I cannot well say, whether or no he did despise *Numerius* weaknesse, whether hee built upon his patience

ence or not, or whether his policie was to colour his owne wickednesse, by making the world see he had not a sufficient courage to governe a Kingdome, who had so little courage to live, being deprived of one.

To take away a Kingdome, and suffer the King to live, is a cruell peece of charitie, wherewith all Tyrants whilst they goe about to deceive the world, they oft-times deceive themselves. The whole will easily meet together, the parts whereof are left alive. To set the Statue of Vertue upon a despicable foundation, is as much as to build a Coloffus of gold upon feet of durt: Piety becomes a King, for that his government is voluntary: Cruelty a Tyrant, for that his is violent; courtesie befits the one, force is requisite to the other: neither yet doth that secure him, he is not unlike a belly-god, who if hee persist to eat, a surfet kills him, if he desist, a dyet: if the
Tyrant

Tyrant bloody his hands without respect, he dyes for being cruell; if otherwife, for seeming to bee pious; Vice, though in the midst of Vertue, is not secure, because shee contaminates them.

3.. *The young woman tarried not long amongst the Vestals, before she was brought to bed of two sonnes, having had company with Mars, as she affirmed; to the end that this her necessary errour might not onely, through the eminency of the person prove excusable; but in some kinde worthy of commendations: the martiall*

tiall acts of Romulus gave credit to this report; the people of Rome for their greater glory did increase it, and stranger Nations, for their lesse of shame, gave way unto it.

IT is no shame to be inferiour in power, to what is superiour in nature; nay, were not the combat to be accounted rashnesse, to lose would bee accounted glorious, since the victory of the strongest party redounds to the honour of the weakest.

To make *Mars* the authour of sacrilege, was to save ones selfe from the severity of man, with the mantle of a god; even good Princes run often shipwrack upon this rocke, either in their owne credulity,

lity, or in that of their people, as being pious, or not seeming impious. A Tyrant laughs at all which not concernes himselfe; he more feares the power of men, than of God; otherwise, he would not endeavour to secure himselfe from the one by that crueltie which doth more incense the other.

4. *Hee delivereth the young woman into the hands of the Priests, to be dealt withall according to the severitie of Justice; he commits the Twins to the charge of a subordinate officer, with charge to drowne them; but he endeavoured to give way to fortune for their safeguard,*

gard, as also for his own defence; he feared that Revenge which oft-times not being able to bee taken against the Master, doth vent it selfe against the Officer.

4.
IT is no wholesome counsell to trust another with the death of one descended of Royall bloud: he suffers him to live either through pitie, or policie: If he be compassionate, he knowes not how to be cruell; if politick, he thinks the present times will not last long; his thoughts are busied on times to come; he hath one eye upon the Tyrant, another upon him that shall succeed him; and hee endeavours more to save himselfe, than to secure his Prince.

He

5.

He exposed them therefore to the standing waters of Tybur, in the midst of a spacious shelve, where when the river eb'd they were left upon the drie sands.

5.

TO have the command of people, and to float upon the waters, have such a proportion betweene them, as many Princes have in their tendrest yeares beene exposed to the fortune of this element, or in their riper yeares, have beene summoned to passe over it. Waters have somewhat of sympathie with the common people; they sustaine light things, suffer what is heavie to sinke; they are tumultuous and inconstant; easie to be withstood when calme, not so when troubled; their force increaseth when it meets with an obstacle,

obstacle, but who goes with the
streame, goe the waters never so
high, reapes profit by them.

*The little ones lament, and
to their whinings, comes
in a Wolfe, or woman, in
manner or name, confor-
mable to such a beast,
which gave them sucke:
there the shepherd Fau-
stulus found them, and
fashioning unto himself
reall beauties in the ma-
jestie of their counte-
nances, as if the Stars
did foretel to them some
great good event; being
smiled on by the one, and
allured*

6.

*allured by the other, he
resolves to save them.*

6

Princes have somewhat more than other men in the majestic of their countenance, in their tutelary Angels, and in the influences of the Starres. Some call a Prince an *Heroe*, Truth it selfe calls him a god, nor had the Gentiles beene much out, had they not by equivocating from the similitude to the essence, added to the Name of God adoration; the common people, because they thinke him more than man, wonder if he be but equall to other men, are offended if hee be inferiour: Princes ought not suffer themselves bee measured; who suffers competition, not sure to win, is sure to lose; somewhat of more than from others is required from him that hath somewhat of more than others.

This

This Shepherd gladded,
carried the Children to
his owne house, and de-
livered them to his wife
Laurenza, that shee
might bring them up.
The waters beare them
up, a wilde beast gives
them sucke, a Shepherd
takes them up, and joyes
to bee joyned a minister
with the waters and
wilde beasts in these ad-
ventures, which might
abreadie bee discerned
in these miraculous e-
vents.

7.

THe Heavens never send forth
any great signes, which have
not

7

not a particular relation to some great personages; for they are the universall cause of all things, and whilst they produce effects, which seeme to have relation to one only; if hee be a Prince, it hath an universall operation; for the people are partakers with their Princes in his gaines, losses, vertues, and vice.

8. *They were not much advanced in yeares, when exercising their strength and valour amongst the woods, in the day-breake of their youth, might bee discerned the bright Sunne-shine of riper yeares.*

8. **H**unting is a kind of warfare, and is more seemely than any other

other hostility, in as much as the dominion over beasts, is more naturall than over men. The pursuit of timorous beasts doth not become a Prince; it may peradventure advantage him in the knowledge of situations, but for ought else, it only teaches how basely to runne away from those of greater power, or else to pursue with poore reputation, such as doe not defend themselves.

*These young youths did
exercise themselves in
the chase of fierce beasts,
thereby inuring their
bodies to hardnesse, and
their minde not to feare
danger: where the
spoiles of the slaugh-
tered prey serve for
trophies*

9.

trophies erected to the
 valour of the hunter;
 in a short space they left
 preying upon wild beasts,
 and fell to pursue such
 men who barbarously
 preyed upon other men,
 where guided by valour,
 having wonne reputati-
 on, and being followed
 by a number of countrey
 people, they freed those
 parts from robbers, and
 made themselves chiefe
 head of all the neigh-
 bouring Shepherds.

9.

MEN cannot live happy where
 they live not safe; therfore
 is it that Cities are built, the
 Prince

Princes are accepted of, and impositions tolerated. The ancient Idolaters, amongst the rest of their gods, placed him for one, who made safe unto them their leisure times.

These doe all honour due to a Prince, to those who did discharge the dutie of a Prince.

VAlour is a dumbe eloquence, which drawes all men unto it, either for that they admire it, feare it, or doe thereby receive benefit: selfe-interest begins at the high concave superficies of the Moone, and penetrates even to the poorest shepherds cottage; it had its beginning with the world, that it might first maintaine, and then destroy the world: it is the morall Philosophie of the world, which penetrates even into the most solide

hide parts: man would not onely predominate over man, but Element over Element; and when the one shall have compassed his intent, the other will have done so also; for the world will end with the selfe respect wherewith it did begin.

11 *Such as did live by rapine,
did not well brooke the
actions of these brothers,
and being desirous of re-
venge, whilst Romu-
lus and Remus did as-
sist at the celebration of
some sports, dedicated to
the honour of god Pan,
with more confidence
than becomes any who
thinkes it lawfull to of-
fend*

send others, they set up-
on them; & taking Re-
mus prisoner, brought
him before Amulius,
notwithstanding his en-
mitie to theeves, as one
that committed out-
rage in his Majesties
grounds.

TO take from others the means
whereby they were wont to
live, would goe hand in hand with
taking away their lives, but that it
is worse, in that it leaves way for
revenge, which continuall losse
causes continually be desired: an
injury in honour is of no force
in basely minded people, it is of
power enough in generous hearts;
yet oft it vanishes away with time,
as that which hath no other founda-
tion than opinion: in the death

of friends and allies, those who are farre off, leave the revenge to those whom it most concernes; those who are nearer at hand, comfort themselves in the good they thereby purchase, content themselves therewithall, and whilst their minde is set upon peaceable enjoying, they forget revenge: To be wrong'd in a mans livelihood, is the onely injury which admits not of oblivion, for present pover-
tie is intolerable to him that hath not beene thereunto accustomed, it calls to minde the former more plentiful condition; and losse which is not the least in aggravating offences, is the greatest in provoking revenge.

12. *The Shepherd Faustulus, by the calculation of times, was not ignorant of their birth, being to the beleefe thereof, the more*

more incited by their magnanimous acts, which did farre surpasse the soules of shepherds; nor had he for all this, intention of making their descent known, till he were thereunto constrained by lawlesse necessitie, or by a faire occasion perswaded.

He would not ingage them in great affaires, before they had great power: when the obligation is greater than the meanes, man either dyes unfortunately, or lives discon-

tented ; hee would not
 sowre the sweets of their
 Victories , with the
 wormwood of their birth ;
 for whereas to bee the
 chiefe of Shepherds , was
 the greatest glory that
 could befall the sonnes
 of Faustus, it would
 prove a deplorable mise-
 rie to the sonnes of a
 King.

12.

That birth detracts frō the me-
 rits of great actions, w^{ch} obli-
 ges to greater. He is not glorious
 that is borne a Prince, but he that
 becomes one ; nor is he to be ac-
 counted abject, who is borne a pri-
 vate man, but he whose actions make
 him so ; that graine of corne is
 called great w^{ch} is bigger than the
 rest ;

rest; and that mountain little, we doth not exalt his head so high as others: A certaine wise man said that God is a Geometrician; perhaps because the world consists more of a Geometricall, than Arithmetically proportion: Praise or dispraise are not occasioned by descent, but may well be weighed together with descent; they consist in differing from them in valour, to whom a man is equall in nature; herein consist mans rancor; and hee is not the aymed at marke of envie, to whom honour hath not formerly had refuge.

Necessity administering occasion, he acquaints Romulus with the businesse.

13.

TO know ones selfe descended from famous ancestors, serves as a goad to those magnanimous
B 4 spirits,

13.

spirits, who take it for a note of infamie to be held famous for the actions of other men; but serves for a chaine or clog to such poore mindes, who hold it lawfull quietly to enjoy the rest, caused by other mens labours; and glory in a long Series of hewen out marble, worthy memories of dead mens actions, hatefull sepulchers of renowne to such as live.

14. *When Romulus knew his descent, he was more violently incens'd against the Tyrant, by whose death hee might appease two powerfull affections, the one of Glory, the other of Revenge: He knowes his forces too weak for open violence; hee hath recourse*

recourse to Stratagem.
He took his way straight
to the Kings Palace, ac-
companied by many o-
thers, disguised in poore
apparell; being come thi-
ther, and encouraged
by his brothers armed
neighbourhood, hee set
upon the King, and slew
him on that seat where
he had committed so ma-
ny wickednesses.

A Tyrant is to all men hatefull;
hee builds the whole bodie
of his State upon the columns of
feare; his ruines arise from either
not fearing, or not being feared:
confidence destroyes him, feare se-
cures him not; and oft-times when

he thinkes to abase mens hearts, he infuses valour into them; for the greatest daring proceeds from the greatest feare; to talke against him is dangerous, to kill him safe; the action is easie to be effected, which hath nothing of fearfull in it, but the act it selfe; it were more easie to kill a good Prince, if there were not more difficulty in having killed him; it were more dangerous to kill a Tyrant, were not the dangerlesse when hee is slaine; who doth not for revenge adhere unto the fact, adheres for glory; no man appears enemie to him that killed him, because no man will seeme to bee friend to him that was killed.

13.

Numitor, *who was not ignorant of Rhemus his descent, and who by just, at least justifiable pretences,*

tences, had seconded the
act committed, favoured
by the guardianship of
Rhemus committed to
his custodie, seeming ig-
norant that they had as-
saulted the King, though
the Palace, with inten-
tion of purging, not of ta-
king the Citie; summo-
ned the Albian youths
to defend the Tower; but
when hee saw the two
young men come towards
him, calling a Councell;
hee related unto them
how they had bin brought
up, how borne, how expo-
sed

sed to the waters, and
how saved.

The young men saluted
their Grandfather with
title of King, the which
was followed unanimous-
ly by all the rest; as well
for that it is usuall in
such assemblies for all to
follow, where a few doe
but begin; as also for ve-
ry commiseration, which
never forsakes infeli-
citie.

15.

TO have beene hated by the
Tyrant, is desert enough to
purchase the good will of the peo-
ple; to them he who is in danger
is alwayes acceptable, they would
alwayes raise him up, whom they
see

see kept down, they have compassion on any one that suffers violence; where the fire of tyrannicall hatred flames highest, there 'tis that the waters of popular favour showre downe; all men doe more naturally desire to restore him to his state, from whom it was taken, than to adhere to him that rooke it; they have compassion on him, because there are but few that can use violence, and all those hate it that feare it; they helpe him, because a greater reward is expected for helping out of misery, than for applauding prosperitie: Envie remains to the happie for punishment, and losse: compassion to the miserable for comfort, and re-establishment; to restore Princes into their estates hath alwayes the face of charitie, but if selfe interest concurre not therewithall, they are pitied, not holpen; and then the envie which hurts not, is punishment, though but a vaine one, to such as are fortunate; compassion, which

which helpes not, is a comfort, though unprofitable, to man in miserie.

16.

Romulus and Remus having made their Grandfather King, they turned their thoughts elsewhere.

16.

MAny know how to give a Kingdome to another, who know not how to brooke a King; to uncooth a thing, is to obey him, who through ones owne meanes commands; to receive a Principallitie from another mans valour, is a kinde of servitade; which necessitates a man, either to shew himselfe simple, or ingratefull: to satisfie their intolerable desires, is voluntarily to surrender up the Principality to them that gave it; not to humour them, is to hazzard the surrendring of it up to them by

by force; for it is an easie thing for them who got a kingdome for another, the same cunning not failing them, to get it for themselves; who hath once with good successe imbrued his hands in Royall bloud, feares not to venter the second time; and he who was deprived of a Kingdome, is alwayes jealous, and feares that which he knowes is feable; how can the Obligation be cancel'd which one owes to him who hath got a Kingdome for him, if it be not to be paid, but with the losse of the same Kingdome; 'tis great discretion to keepe farre from that Sovereigne, who cannot sufficiently requite the Obligation he oweth: benefits are alwayes willingly received, but the benefactors are not alwayes willingly beheld; and when the debt is such as cannot be paid, as if upbraided with disability, favour is often chang'd into hatred; and then the obligation not being to be acquitted, they endeavour

Tacitus

devour to acquit themselves of the Obliger : Service which is received from an inferiour argues weaknesse, and challengeth great recompence ; to equalize the recompence to the benefit received, is to equalize the receiver to the Benefactour ; the name of *Magnanimus* is lost, and the name of ungratefull hardly wiped off ; those benefits which are received from a Superiour, are willingly acknowledged, for acknowledgment is all he expects, he which witnessing the receivall of them, obliges to an addition of more.

17. These respects, the motives of ambition, and incitements of glory, caused the generously minded young men, keepe aloofe off from their grandfathers subjection.

To

TO expect a Kingdome after anothers death, hinders or retards glory; mens spirits with yeares grow cold, and during the fathers life, that a man may live secure, he often-times must live idle; Princes doe sometimes envie, yea, even the egregious deeds of their sornes, because they feare them; private men rejoyce, because they share therein: amongst the good fortunes of valiant men, their parents speedie death ought to be accounted one; who after having brought them up, cannot doe better for them than die; a kingdome is not to be desired, if it bring not glory along with it; glory belongs to them who have wonne it with the sweat of their brow, not to those who receive it calmly from another; valiant men who are borne fortunate, are unfortunate; for the inheritance of Monarchies takes away the glory of acquiring them.

They

18.

They goe about to build a new Citie, or rather to build the walls of that which their generous actions brought along with them; to this purpose they chuse that place where they were exposed to waters, as I beleeve, either out of memory of their fortune, or out of gratitude.

The places choyce shewes the builders wisdom; the first stone they laid is a Touch-stone, by which the worth of their metall is tryed.

HE

HE is not to be praised, who
to withdraw himselfe from
the downey bed of idlenesse, hath
recourse to the brutishnesse of ster-
ilitye; one ought seeke helpe from
education, not situation; that it
may appeare vertue, not necessity;
the way of Merchandize makes
men industrious, but withall timor-
ous; and that Citie is in no good
condition, the riches whereof
consists, amongst some particulars,
not in the publike; where the ri-
ches is lockt up in chests, not in
the Common-wealth, when dan-
ger comes, men know not how to
defend it, but study how they may
quit it; and such estates as are por-
table, set their owner at libertie,
for they make them but inhabi-
tants, not subjects.

Nor can it be affirmed, that the
barrennesse of a place takes from
its neighbours the desire of domi-
nion, which is the childe of glory,
not of avarice.

He that builds in strong places,
erects

81

erefts fortrefles for tyrants, at leaft
 nefts for vices; and they that live
 in securitie, want that feare of lo-
 fing their owne, which oft-times
 ferves for juft occafion to ufurpe
 anothers right; and on the con-
 trary fide, to build open Cities
 without walls, was a melancholy
 humour of fome ancient Philofo-
 pher, which neither deserves dif-
 courfe, nor imitation..

19.

Romes fttuation was full
 of health-infpiring hills,
 not too far diftant from
 the fea, that they might
 receive commodities; not
 too neere, that they
 might fhun the inunda-
 tions of barbarous peo-
 ple; watered with a con-
 tinuall running River,
 placed

placed in the midst of Italy.

They were readie to raise the walls of the Citie, when neither of them would yeeld in the naming thereof unto the other, nor in the making of laws. Equality, the producer of envy, had much more force in them; for that beyond the common equalitie amongst brethren, they did particularise in being equally conceived, and equally at the same time borne.

When any excuse is to be found, seniority is allow'd of,

of many would yeeld, if they could finde pretence to doe so, and many times men contend more out of shame than pride.

The mixture of greater and lesse is good, but that of equals starke naught; either in the varietie of nature it is not found requisite, or else it lasts not in the world; because it is founded upon the perpetuity of motion; and inequality doth by so much the more differ from tolerable, by how much it comes neare to equality; therefore is an *Unison* displeasing in musicke, which though it were exquisite, is unfruitfull; it makes no action, produces no harmonie; the greater and lesse, answer to the sharpe and flat; from those the world receives its forme, from these musicke her sweetnesse, and each are damnified by the contrary, if it be dissonant; profited, if it be harmonious.

20.

Since they could not find on
earth

earth how to decide precedence, they seeke to Heaven by auguries; Rhemus on the Arven-tine hill, Romulus on the Palatine; and whilst it is reported that six Vulturs appeared to Rhemus, Romulus shews that number doubled to them that stood about him: some are of opinion, that from hence a contention rising betwixt them, Rhemus was slaine by Romulus.

TO have an equall prefer'd by man, is a sufficient anxiety, but

but therein may be deceit; to have the like prefer'd by Heaven, makes the anxietie greater, because it is alwayes truth: This accident was the first canker that introduced man-slaughter, and the first man-slaughter was betweene brethren.

21.

The more common opinion, notwithstanding is, that hee lost his life in leaping, by way of derision, over the walls his Brother built.

Rhemus by this action, either declared himselfe to be Prince, by pretending not to be subject to any Lawes, or else intended to take the principallitie from others, by making

*making a mockery of the
Lawes.*

21.

Misobseruancie differs from contempt; the one reflects upon the Institution, the other upon the Institutor; he who covertly transgresseth the Lawes, leaves the reputation of him that made them, untouched; hee who openly offends against them, aimes more to weaken the Prince, than the Lawes: Errors which are occasioned by whatsoeuer other affecti-on, may be great or little; those who are occasioned by contempt, are alwayes giant-like, some of them reflect upon the profit of the subject, and it is good to punish them; others upon the Majestie of the Superiour, and it is necessary to chastise them; Respect is the soule of government; a Prince fallen to neglect, is a dead carcas.

Griuing to the begun Citie,
C the

22.

At the beginning of his own name, he called it Rome, and instituted pastimes in the honour of Hercules.

Laws were yet wanting to a Citie, which full fraught with divers Nations, and of divers manners, could not without them receive unity.

22.

Laws are of divers sorts, some aime at the preservation of mankind, others at the maintenance of the State; the former belong to ministers of law, as Judiciall; the latter to the Prince, as Politicall; the first requires stability, because they are judiciously considered before they be made; but once being made, they ought not

not to be judged, since by them judgement is made. The other sort to be good, ought not to be perpetuall, for that if they continue still in force, they ruinate the State: and if they be transgressed, as time necessitates, an ill example, without profit is introduced: It sufficeth not, not to observe the old ones, when there is no way given to make new ones. The Prince is Superintendent over the Lawes, not in that hee may not observe them, but in that he may change them: Transgressions in whatsoever kinde is naught; change in the latter is necessary; the same meat doth not besit the same man at all ages, neither are maladies by the same meanes cured in the beginning, after a while's duration, and when they grow worse.

All things in this inferiour world have their periods; a man must change as time and occasion require; most of States have runne a hazard, for not being able to

beare with their ancient Ordinations, and not knowing how to alter them.

23.

Ministers
to execute
corporall
punish-
ment a-
mongst
the Ro-
mans.

*Romulus gives the Laws,
he strengthens them by
force, threatned by the
twelve Licitors which
waited upon him.*

23.

Law is of no use to perswade,
if it have no power to punish,
otherwise it is too little for them
that are naturally inclined to mis-
chiefe, too much for those who vo-
luntarily doe well.

24.

*To might, he addes Maje-
sty, figured by the grave
habit which hee wore,
differing from the habit
of other men.*

ALL

ALL things (I had almost said, that which hath no entitie, but is very nothing) helpe those who are of power enough in themselves; ciphers meeting with ciphers, make nothing, but if they meet with figures, they multiply; the habit makes him not venerable, whose actions have not formerly made him so; hee hath no Majesty, but what the eye allowes him by being accustomed to see him clad like men of Majesty, and if by vertue of authority he occasions reverence, for want thereof he moves derision.

Cloathes were made to cover the defects of the body, now they discover the affections of the mind, they were made to hide our weakness, now they lay open our ambition; the Lord cloathed man, when he disrobed himselfe of originall righteousness, when he became servant to sinne, and he (O foolishnesse) glorieth in the en-

signes of his slavery, as if they were trophies of his victory.

25. Romes walls increase, but there want inhabitants to people it, they proclaime Sanctuary, whither whosoever, having committed what fault soever, might have safe recourse.

Quiertesse is an enemy to new built Cities, all hope consists in motion; people who are not apt to live in Cities, are apt to fight in the field; and who knows not how to be a good Citizen, proves oft-times a good Soldier:

dier: Rome might rather be called the Rendezvous of an armie, than an assembly of citizens, for it was not built for commodious living, but to bee made greater by such, whose ends were not safety, but glory.

AN Armie is an *Academie*, where the wilder spirits are disciplined in open field, that they may afterwards be brought within the compasse of walls; to those who command in Armies, Cities seeme distastefull, not to those that serve in them as common souldiers; for the rigour of military obedience, makes the yoke of civill life seeme sweet.

It was not long ere it was replenisht with Inhabitours; novel-

tie is a light which hath the vertue to draw eies unto it, and power to dash them. Men, because of necessitie they must dye, Looke not willingly upon such things as inclining towards the Sun-set, bring to their mindes this necessity, but willingly upon such as rising with the Sun, gives them beleefe of augmentation; men write their names in tender plants, because they grow; not in aged Okea, because they are cut downe.

Did not Novelty bring with it so many prerogatives, the world would grow old with the same things wherewith it did begin; our wits would be barren, were they deprived of invention, which makes them fruitfull; our understandings grow vilified with knowne things, and conceive things unknowne greater than they are.

26.

*All such as did neither en-
vie*

vie nor feare Rome,
 flockt together, some for
 safety-sake, some de-
 lighted with noveltie,
 some perswaded by the
 desire of change, some
 of glory.

SPritely wits are feldome con-
 stent with the present condi-
 tion. Felicitie is alwayes sought for
 in things wee want, which when
 we get, we finde her not; men can-
 not satisfie their desires, no not
 with the accomplishment thereof;
 they thinke they may once be hap-
 pie, when they can never be so;
 hence is occasioned the hatred of
 tranquillity, the desire of motion,
 the loathing of present things, and
 seeking after future.

26.

The greatest part of this people
 came to amend the condition they

were borne in, under the fortunate conduct of *Romulus*.

Noveltie hath power enough to draw men unto her, but not to keepe them; shee, when her selfe suddenly is gone, cannot detaine others long, unlesse shee insnare them in the birdlime of profit, or take them in the net of ambition.

27.

To this purpose *Romulus* chose an hundred Senators for Companions, a number sufficient to govern whatsoever State, and equall to their number, to whom all other forme of others command would have beene insupportable.

In the beginning of government, every small Authority

thoritie seemes great; in
the continuance thereof,
how ever great it be, it
seemes little; whence it
proceeds, that in time
those Magistrates are
not endured, which were
too greedily at first crea-
ted.

Libertie and principalitie are
incompatible, they meet not
together, or if they doe, they last
not; every one seekes his owne
perfection, which depending up-
on the destruction of another, they
seek it there: It seemes strange to
the Senate, that they should bee
free and yet serve; Strange to the
Prince, that hee should be chiefe
Lord, and not command; the
meane of Liberty is the mother of
Tyranta, which being to them in-
tolerable.

27.

32

tolerable, whilst by violence it is taken away, it inforceth withall a violent government; to live quietly, it behoves either to be totally free, or totally tyed to servitude.

28. *To Romes intire perfection women were wanting; they concurre to the essentiall constitution of families, families to the like of Cities: Rome had more of forme than matter; Romans lived there, but there were no Romans borne.*

28. **W**Here men live, and none are borne, death must ensue; and no new births follow: Parents live againe in the children, which they produce; man
hat b

hath no greater desire than this,
nor Nature greater necessitie ; the
species remaines, if not the indivi-
duall ; the matter remaines, if not
the forme : it is an error of un-
derstanding, to beleeeve that wo-
man is an error of Nature ; she is
perfect, since shee is made for the
perfectest of works, she is of forme
equall to us ; originally composed
of more noble matter than we.

*Rome might bee called a
circuit of walls, not a
Citie ; it was rather a
sepulcher, since there
being an impossibility of
mans being there borne,
they must there onely
die.*

29.

*And who was there to bee
found, who by granting
them*

them women, would cooperate to the greatnesse of this people, and deprive themselves of those armes to extinguish them, which their singlenesse of life administered?

Romulus was not ignorant of this difficulty, he notwithstanding sent Embassadors to his neighbours, either to obtaine some justly, or to take them away by force.

29.

HE who is necessitated to use violence, hath first beene violence by necessitie; of all Lawes necessitie is most odious, of all justice the most rigorous.

Th

The neighbouring people,
 angry that the Romans
 had received those whom
 they had driven away,
 deny to send them wo-
 men; and some giving
 way to anger, seeme to
 slight them with words,
 I know not whether ful-
 ler of ignorance or weak-
 nesse.

They are little to bee feared,
 whose tongues serve them
 for swords; greater is the danger
 which is threatned by silence, than
 the offence given, by over much
 talke.

Anger which shewes it selfe, is
 kindled in the spirits, not in the
 humours; and like powder it rais-
 es fire, but doth retaine it, it car-
 ries

ries it out, keeps it not within; choler which vents it selfe by the mouth, doth not vent it selfe by hands; a mine which findes a vent, vapors away, makes no breach: to offend with deeds, is hostilitie; with words, malignitie; the one is profitable to the Enemy, the other fruitlesse; and damage is more supportable than evill speaking, because it is more reasonable.

31.

The answer, which together with damage, was accompanied with disrespect, caused no small indignation amongst the Romans; to make use of revenge, they betake themselves to dissimulation.

Romulus faines himselfe sicke,

sick, they dedicate sports
to his recovery, and pre-
pare for them with mag-
nificence.

The neighbouring people,
together with their wo-
men, flocke to see the
fight, thinking, belike,
with safetie to present
meat to the famished.

Great was the error certain-
ly which was the cause there-
of; since that too much weaknesse
sprung from too great confidence,
or too great rashnes, frō too little
valuation; to deny the Romans
women, yet bring them to Rome;
to trust to them who they had de-
spised; not to feare the violence of
necessity, was one of those follies
occasioned by curiositie. Curiosi-
tie, if devoted to the delight of
sense,

sense, is not praiseworthy; if to the delight of the understanding, it may admit excuse; it is never free from blame, if accompanied with danger; too much and too little thereof, argue equall weaknesse.

Women are made to stay at home, not to wander abroad, their delights ought to bee, what delights their husbands, by participation, not propriety: to bring them abroad to Festivals, moves them that looke upon them, to undervalue them, if they be ill-favoured; if handsome, to lust after them; looks how many friends they get unto themselves, so many enemies procure they unto their husbands; within doores they may helpe, without doores they cannot but be a trouble; their conversation if it be pleasing to them, who there they finde, is for the most part displeasing to them that brought them thither: Though they suffer not in coveting, they suffer in being coveted; if their company

company be shun'd who wishes your misfortune, why is theirs pursued who wish your dishonour? The vanity of men herein, is more than it is of women; they think to make themselves be envied, and are caught in a noose, when at last in stead of envie remains compassion. It is true that many value not what they possess, if others know it not, but it is of lesse value, if by making it knowne they lose it; Reputation is a choice colour, which seares the face; it is a transparent Chrystall, which is dim'd, being looked upon by such as are lasciviously given: All occasions of dangers ought alwayes to bee shunned, where the danger trenches upon Honour.

The Spectators were intent upon the sports; when the signe being given, the young

young men of Rome laid hold upon the stranger-women; their friends sie, complaine of violated faith; they call for vengeance to their gods, at whose pastimes they were abused.

They ought rather to blame themselves than others, more for being cause of their being taken away, than for their being taken away.

32.

IT is by so much more insufferable to lose by deceit than by force, by how much it is better to be overcome by the body, than by the understanding: In force we have no shame, because it is altogether

gether without us, but cosenage is by the policie of others, built upon the foundations of our owne inconsideratenesse: Wounds occasioned by force, are asswaged by their occasion, Fortune; those which are caused by deceit, are aggravated by complaining of the occasion, Improvidencie.

33.
Nor were the Virgins lesse incenst than were their fathers; Romulus perswades them with arguments drawne from the efficacy of necessity; their husbands appease them with faire words, drawne from the power of Love, which coupled with admiration; force was now
no

no more complained of, being accompanied with the praise of beauty; the which being numbred amongst the happineses of women, left them no cause to complaine of being unfortunate. Matrimony had already mitigated the Rape, and the marriage-bed quieted the mindes of the Sabine dames, when their friends clad all in mourning, joyning anger to calamity, did incite their neighbours; and incensing the whole body of
the

the people, they assembled themselves before Titus Tatius, a Sabine King, where the Councell being met, wee may suppose that one of them, who was abused at the aforesaid sports, spoke in this manner.

THe Romans demanded women, and you denied them; it was not sure an effect of chance, if you all agreed in the denial; are then the reasons of their denial now ceased, because they are violently taken from you? ought that be granted to force, which was denied to love? we that were deafe to their intreaties, shall wee bee blinde to their violence? wee refused to heare their supplications with
„ patience,

„ patience, shall wee endure their
„ outrages with stupiditie? shew-
„ ing them, that with us, whilst to
„ take by violence is safe, there
„ is nothing dangerous but to
„ demand.

„ They make necessitie a cloake
„ for their outrage; that necessity
„ which had wont heretofore to
„ be the shield of the unfortunate,
„ and the cheering, or encourage-
„ ing of the fearfull, is now be-
„ come the cloake of these who
„ are fortunate, and the incite-
„ ment of the rash; they tooke
„ from us our Citizens under title
„ of safety; they forst from us our
„ women, under colour of marri-
„ age; they will likewise seize our
„ Cities by claime of dowrie; as
„ they have had need of our
„ daughters to increase their
„ numbers; so will they have need
„ of our Countries, to increase
„ their estate. And say the desire
„ of reigne should cease amongst
„ the Romans, their once having
„ offended

„offended us, will serve for pro-
„vocation to them, to offend us
„at all times. Favours conferrd on
„any one, are renewed, thereby to
„continue the memory of the for-
„mer : Injuries are multiplied, to
„secure ones selfe for those already
„done. He who hath done wrong,
„can hardly become a friend, be-
„cause he thinks the wrong'd par-
„ty can never become his friend :
„where friendship is not hoped
„for, and injury hath beene recei-
„ved, nothing but revenge is to
„be had ; the which retarded pro-
„longs, but makes the danger
„greater, by taking away the ad-
„vantage of prevention.

„Whatsoever is suffered by
„force, though sometime good
„effects ensue, is alwayes harme-
„full, because either it proceeds
„from envie or contempt : nei-
„ther doth patience serve the
„partie injured for ought else,
„but to make them more insolent
„who account it weaknesse ; and

„ to encourage them to offend yet
„ more haynously : those who
„ easily beare injuries alreadie
„ done ; if the suffering of inju-
„ ries would cause quiet, it would
„ argue great wisdom to passe by
„ them ; but without any other
„ profit, it makes the injured par-
„ ties be esteemed, or foolish, or
„ cowards ; as if they either wan-
„ ted wit to know them, or cou-
„ rage to revenge them ; whence
„ men lose both compassion and
„ feare, affections onely able to
„ refraine affections in worldly
„ men.

„ Rome had her beginning in
„ the midst of us, and wee despise
„ her ; shee augmenteth, and wee
„ nourish her ; we give her life, she
„ threatens our death : those who
„ saw her in her beginning, fore-
„ seeing the danger that might
„ ensue to their posterity, left the
„ care thereof to their posteritie ;
„ and as a thing which threatened
„ all, every one fell to behold her,

„ none

„ none to hinder her : in common
„ evils private men feare not, and
„ in future events, men looke for
„ helpe from Time and Fortune.

„ The eye which beholds no-
„ veltie, leaves no space for the
„ understanding to judge the dan-
„ ger, till it be so farre advanced,
„ as there is no remedie for it ; the
„ errors of slothfulnesse are then
„ discerned, when all diligence is
„ bootlesse.

„ It is a false opinion held by
„ melancholy men, to give the ti-
„ tle of Wisdome to delay ; most
„ businesses suffer shipwrack, be-
„ cause occasions are hasty ; and
„ men slow ; men talke of the pre-
„ sent time, when 'tis already past ;
„ moments ought not to be neg-
„ lected, when upon these mo-
„ ments, an eternitie depends.

„ In things which are arrived
„ at full perfection, if not their fi-
„ nall end, at least their decaying
„ age may in time be expected ; but
„ in things which but begin to in-

„crease, to expect, is as much as
 „to give time that they may in-
 „crease. If a traveller meet with
 „a River at its head, when it is yet
 „but a small brooke, he should doe
 „ill to travell further along it, till
 „he must ferry it over where it is
 „become a large streame. Rome is
 „a little Rivelet, our people like
 „torrents flocke thither, wee must
 „fight, not discourse; and fight
 „with Romans, before that Ro-
 „mans become a Race of Sabins,
 „before our enemies be our kinf-
 „folke: haste is the best remedie,
 „where time is the greatest ene-
 „mie.

34. *This man having ended his
 discourse, wee may be-
 lieve that Titus Ta-
 tius answered in this
 manner.*

34. „**Y**OU ought either to have
 „granted women to the Ro-
 „mans,

mans, or else have fought against
their Citie, and gone unto their
sports with troopes of armed
men, not of young girles. I ex-
pected they should have come
within our walls to take them
from us by force, had not you
gone within their walls to offer
them to their rapine; hee who
denyes another what of necessity
he must have, having gain-said
intreaties, ought prepare for
violence.

To endeavour Romes ruine
by force, was a wise considera-
tion, but dangerous; for your
owne more safeties sake, you re-
solved to deny them women:
Good resolutions are seldome
taken all together; in all things
dangers doe appeare, and to se-
cure our selves from evill, good
is done by halfes; and the halfe
of that good is not good, which
consisting in the whole admits of
no division. To renew things
now irreparable, and which can-

„ not bee diverted, is to beleeeve
„ ones selfe greater than the gods,
„ and a labour without profit,
„ or rather accompanied with
„ losse, since thereby wee call to
„ minde those things, the chiefeft
„ happinesse whereof consists in
„ forgetfulnesse.

„ Rome may be said to have its
„ rise and its increase from us, and
„ it is fatall that fathers should lose
„ in the having of children; draw-
„ ing neerer to death, by giving life
„ to others, if it be true that the
„ generation of one be the corrup-
„ tion of another.

„ 'Tis true, there ought a re-
„ medy be had for the appearing
„ danger; but I not commend the
„ repairing of past errors, caused
„ by delay, with new, and greater
„ caused by impatiencie.

„ Injuries received, tend to the
„ ruine of men, who with the
„ zeale of honour doe not accom-
„ pany wisdom; they run upon
„ revenge for past wrongs, and
„ throw

„ throw themselves headlong up-
„ on new miseries ; they would
„ amend one error, and produce
„ a thousand.

„ Too much haste is as much
„ before time, as too much delay
„ is out of time. Errours of im-
„ patience are worse than errors of
„ delay ; for it is better to shun pre-
„ cipices, than to run upon them :
„ if they be not hindered, they are
„ retarded. Justice is not beleev'd
„ to be there, where violence is
„ observed to be ; nor can it be ac-
„ counted wisdom, where there is
„ no argumentation. Argumenta-
„ tion is not had in an instant ;
„ Time is not measured by instants.
„ Wisdom is the daughter of
„ Cold, Violence of Heat ; things
„ which have not beene done in
„ times past, may well be effected
„ in times to come ; but things al-
„ ready done, cannot be undone
„ againe : occasions are never wan-
„ ting to men, but men are wanting
„ to occasions ; they may bee ex-
D 4 „ pected,

» pected, they ought not be pre-
» vented.

» He who fights, egged on by
» Fury, begins his warre for ha-
» ving lost ; he satisfies his affecti-
» on, not his dutie ; and is sooner
» beaten by his owne weaknesse,
» than by anothers valour.

» Our forbearance is to be fea-
» red, not despised ; the world is
» his who hath patience, when it
» proceeds from sagacitie, not ti-
» miditie. Generous spirits ad-
» dresse themselves to endure pre-
» sent injuries, out of hope of fu-
» ture revenge ; they reserve their
» anger to vindicate offences, not
» to evaporate passion. Dissimula-
» tion is not to be blamed, when by
» the injury of Time, it is not
» transformed into oblivion ; dissi-
» mulation is never worse, than
» when it becomes forgetfulnesse,
» never better than when it resem-
» bles it.

» It is more safe to hinder the
» increase of Rome, than her sub-
» sistancie ;

» stancie; for it is easier to let her
» wax old, than cause her dye: in-
» crease is not there had, where
» there is no motion; nor can Ci-
» ties in peace, increase and re-
» ceive nourishment; new Planta-
» tions are augmented by the ruine
» of old ones; and tender plants,
» which are hindered by the shade
» and roots of neighbouring trees,
» want force to grow up: Rome
» cannot grow greater without the
» ruine of our Cities; nor can they
» ruine our Cities without warre:
» to wage armes to destroy her,
» may afford matter for her in-
» crease. All fires are not suppress-
» ed by ruines, nor quencht by blood;
» that fire which wanteth nourish-
» ment, wanteth life; and where of
» it selfe it must needs goe out, it
» needs not the ruine of others.

» All industry ought to be used
» to have peace with a people, who
» can never have a worser war than
» peace: faire pretences are not
» wanting to cloake our received

» injuries. Necessity commits no
 » offence, kindred are not ene-
 » mies; matrimony is no rape; let
 » injuries done unto the gods, be
 » left unto the gods; 'tis they were
 » injured, not man; and if men, not
 » Cities; and though Cities, re-
 » course ought not therefore be
 » had to armes; to revenge inju-
 » ries, to reward good turnes, love
 » and hatred are the affections of
 » private men, Common-wealths
 » and States have selfe interest for
 » the spheare of their actions; be-
 » yond the which they neither see
 » nor heare, it is the object of their
 » senses, the mover of their affecti-
 » ons, the ruler of their passions.

35. *The discord caused between
 Titus Tatius his slack-
 nesse, and the peoples im-
 paciencie, was good har-
 mony for Romes increase,*
 for

for if she were likely to be lost, if set on only by the Sabine forces, what thinke you would have become of her, when they should have been assisted by so many other confederates?

Sundry people assembled together to worke the same end, doe not alwayes endeavour it with the same end; lines which meet all in one point, go not all the same way; they often meet, and yet differ.

These men will overthrow this frame, but because each one puts it upon anothers backe, none move it.

Where

36.

W Here there is store of pates
 there is store of confusi-
 on; many stones of not above three
 inches thicke, may raise a height
 of a thousand yards; but the uni-
 ting of many wits, serve not to the
 advancement of one understand-
 ing; they helpe not, they hinder
 one another; nor is it true, that
 two eyes joyned see more than
 one, if one see more than both dis-
 joyned, when the greatest spheare
 of the eyes motion, is understood
 to be the greatest distance.

In such an assembly there can-
 not be so good a resolution had,
 but will become bad, if observed
 but by a few; nor so bad, which
 may not prove exceeding good, if
 observed by all; wise men ought
 alwayes to counsell the best, yet
 sometime follow the worst, if the
 worst be the opinion of the most.

37.

*The Cernetians, Crustu-
 manians, and those of
 Antenna,*

*Antenna, depart no waies
contented with the Sa-
bins slow resolutions; and
the Cernetians more im-
patient than the rest, en-
ter the Roman territories
to ransacke them.*

THe desire of revenge is more
eager than any other affecti-
on, yea, more than love it selfe,
for that the bloud is more active
in the arteries, than in the veines;
Choler hath no commerce with
Wisdom, she is companion to au-
dacity, she levels precipices, makes
mountaines valleyes: The chole-
ricke man feares not, because hee
lookes upon the object only how
he may offend it, not how he may
by it be offended; his eyes are al-
wayes on the extremes; hee sees
not the middle; and oft-times falls,
because he knowes not that he can
fall;

fall; all his spirits flocke to assist him, making him beleeve he is able to doe more than indeed he is, and hindering one another, hee oft-times is of lesse ability than usuall; he thinkes upon nothing but how to quench that fire that burnes, nor findes he other water to quench it withall, than that of revenge; he runs for remedy to him that first did kindle it, that by his blood he may extinguish it, nor doth he stop, till it be thus fed, or by feare quite put out.

38. Romulus makes towards them, teaching them how vaine that Anger is, which is not sustained by forces. He overcomes them, treads them under foot, kills their Leader, takes their Citie, and brings

*brings home his victori-
ous Armie.*

Romulus was no lesse da-
ring in his actions than
eloquent in his speech;
valiant in doing brave
things, wary in assisting
them with faire appea-
rances.

Great actions have need of
helpe, else they will be suffo-
cated by simplicity: when wonder
is conceived, thence proceeds re-
verence.

It is easie to adde to the great-
nesse of actions by words; to truth
by appearances, and it is not amisse.
A Prince obliges himself to things
greater than he hath yet done, if
he make them not seeme lesse, than
what they are beleeved to bee;
to adde to petty actions, moves
laughter,

laughter, and merits the name of vanity; to assist actions of a middle condition, causes admiration, and immorall fame.

39. Hee caused the enemies spoiles bee erected, and from top of the Capitoll did dedicate them, together with a Temple, to Jupiter Feretreus.

Whilst the Romans were busied about such solemnities, those of Antenna did in hostile manner forrage their Country: the Romans without delay, bring forth a Squadron of men against them, and easily defeated

ted them, who of spoilers became a spoile; and they which lay in wait for the goods of other men, lost their owne Castle; but Ersiglia, Romulus his wife, solicited by the teares of those women which had beene violently detained, by profitable intreaties perswaded her triumphing husband to pardon those who were their parents, and kinsfolke, and to receive them into the City.

THIS manner of making the conquered companions; to receive for citizens, those whom the

the same day they had seene as enemies ; did make the waging of war more easie to other people , but made it more difficult to overcome in warre ; it increased the desire of combat, but tooke from the heat of fighting ; where it was a question, whether were the greater reward to overcome, or be overcome ; whilst they who lost, acquired the honour of being a Citizen of Rome.

Whosoever shall read the Roman Histories, considering their wayes of growing greater, will either beleve that they did ill, or else will blame those who now a dayes having Monarchies, and needfull of people, doe rather drive away former forrenners, than they are perswaded to receive in new ones, whereunto they have by some beene solicited ; but the diversitie of circumstances, hath not given applause to such counsels. The Romans by taking people of the same Province, may be rather
said

said to have framed one body out of many members, than out of many bodies; there being under the selfe-same clime, of the same language, and little or nothing differing in manners, freed them from tumults: their union was the more secured, by their being all new, and tender, easie to bee joyned together; as it fals out in young childrens bones: their love was the more secured by calling them to Senators places, and other commands in the Citie; for being straitned by warres, they were easily perswaded to accept of their enemies company, when being come to a greater growth, they refused the societie even of their friends: Strangers may be received for companions, where there is a forme of Common-wealth, or bodie of a Senate; but where there is an absolute Monarchie, they cannot be accepted of, but as servants. They therefore doe wisely, who having passed their younger yeares,

yeares, in which it was necessary to receive into their body people of different language, climate, and manners, doe not call in strangers to enjoy, or without all peradventure, to trouble what they have with their sweat wonne.

40. *Those of Antemna being vanquished, the Crustumanians take armes, and were soone overcome, fighting more out of feare than out of hope; disheartned and made weak by their neighbours losses.*

40. **T**He glory of the first warres had its rise from honour, of the rest from reputation; to have overcome in these, avails as much as to overcome in those: An
armie

armie which feares to lose the day,
is already beaten by its owne be-
leeffe; each noise the enemy makes
seemes victory; each motion of its
owne men, flight; such an armie is
more prepared for what it feares,
than for what it hopes; and oft-
times it leaves the field, more for
that it feares to lose, than for that
it hath lost: he who alwaies thinks
to overcome, fights alwayes; but
he that doubts, defends himselfe,
but fights not.

Romulus knowing that
things worne by valour,
must bee maintained by
wisdome, caused the Se-
nat be assembled, where
I may suppose hee spake
in this manner.

41.

TO conquer people, and not
to know how to make the
victory

41.

» victory beneficiall; to win sub-
 » jects, and not be able to keepe
 » them in subjection, is a losse both
 » of men and time. Providence is
 » necessary, and 'tis laborious.

» Meanes are not wanting, but
 » those meanes are full of difficul-
 » ties; were there any infallible
 » rule found, whereby to secure
 » ones selfe from the rebellions of
 » such as are under him; I beleve
 » the world ere long would be
 » long to one onely man; but in
 » politicke affaires there is no rule
 » but fortune.

» To captivate mens mindes
 » with rewards is impossible; ser-
 » vitude cannot be rewarded with
 » any other recompence, than be-
 » ing set at liberty: to tye them by
 » an oath, is no way safe; they are
 » not subjects, whose power is on-
 » ly subject to will; Liberty is na-
 » turall; servitude violent; what
 » is violent needes somewhat,
 » which from without may with-
 » stand it, if its beginning be not

» OCCU-

„occasioned from some internall
„cause.

„To raze the walls of strong
„Cities, when subdued, encour-
„rageth strangers to make them-
„selves masters of them; to leave
„them standing, facilitates the in-
„surrection of Citizens; and say
„it were a good advice for places
„that are within the body of the
„State; it is undoubtedly bad for
„frontier places, where it is hard
„so to doe, as that they may be of
„defence against the enemy, and
„not subject to the rebellion of
„friends: hee leaves mens mindes
„apt to commotions, who takes
„not from them all meanes of de-
„fence.

„Those who send Garrisons
„thither, or build Castles there,
„endeavour to maintaine them by
„force, and often-times lose them
„voluntarily: they secure them-
„selves from strangers, and put
„themselves into the hands of
„their owne people; over whom
„they

„ they lose the authoritie of com-
„ mand, because they lose the
„ power of punishment; they free
„ themselves from the danger of
„ citizens, they submit themselves
„ to the fidelitie of a Captaine;
„ and he, though he may thinke it
„ ignominious to deliver up the
„ Citie to an enemy, may thinke
„ it may bee borne withall, if hee
„ keepe it for himselfe.

„ He who builds Fortresses in
„ weake Cities, depends also too
„ much upon the too mutable faith
„ of the Captaine; nor can they
„ much hinder him that is master
„ of the field, as being only usefull
„ to curbe unarmed Citizens, of
„ no use against armed enemies.

„ To send Colonies to worke
„ this effect, more incenses the an-
„ cient inhabitants, and protests
„ the new ones but for a small
„ time: they are plants transplan-
„ ted, they soone accommodate
„ themselves to the Country, from
„ whence their roots receive nou-
„ rishment.

„riskment. They forget their ori-
„ginall in all things, save in their
„desire to be no more subjects, but
„companions. Men who goe from
„their own homes, to plant them-
„selves in new places, goe not thi-
„ther to be servants to them who
„send them thither, but compani-
„ons and equals to those who re-
„maine behind.

„To keepe Armies stil on foot,
„to suffocat insurrections in their
„cradle, is the greatest, and would
„be the best remedy, if then it were
„not in the Generals choyce
„to make a Common-wealth a
„Monarchie, and himsele Lord
„thereof.

„He that were alwayes sure to
„returne victorious, needed no o-
„ther meanes to secure himsele;
„if enemies be vanquished, friends
„are hardie, because their feare is
„greater, and their shame lesse; but
„the successe of war is uncertaine;
„and it is almost certaine that re-
„bellions succeed overthrowes.

„ I should thinke the best course
 „ for the present, is to send abroad
 „ Colonies; by so doing, the Ci-
 „ tie will be free from beggars; nor
 „ will any couragiously minded
 „ man leave Rome, while there is
 „ bent upon glorious actions; and
 „ the people round about our
 „ walls being subjected unto us by
 „ keeping an Armie alwayes on
 „ foot, we shall secure them from
 „ their enemies, our selves from re-
 „ bellions.

42.

According to Romulus his
 opinion, Colonies were
 appointed for such places
 as were won.

This meane while the Sa-
 bins waged war against
 the Romans; a war the
 more to be feared, by how
 much the later it was un-
 dertaken,

dertaken, being governed by reason, deprived of its first cholerike violence, nor sooner taken notice of, than in the field.

The Sabins seeke rather to secure their State, than to vent their anger; they assault the Citie, not the Citizens, that they may bring it in subjection, without intention of revenge.

The feare of Romes greatnessse, causes them to move; their rage for the committed violence, the original thereof.

42.

STates that enjoy rest and quiet, because they are in league and friendship with all their Neighbours, have great good fortune if they meet with any occasion of offence; and wise men in such like occasions seeke after them; for the common people will not be perswaded to more than what they see, they judge by the eye, not the understanding, nor is there any argument with them of force enough to gain-say appearance. To keepe friendship with neighbours is exceeding good; but hereupon to build the securitie of a State, is passing bad: they are well held for friends, if they bee considered as enemies; that so they may bee bound to love, and not able to hurt; the height of that building, which is delightfull and pleasing, when one thinkes to enjoy it for an habitation; is displeasing, if he looke it shall fall upon his head.

The

The Sabins by deceit get into the Citadel of Rome, having by gold corrupted the daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, Captaine thereof; not without the death of the treacherous young woman; whether it were out of hatred of the treason, or did they feare mischief by the example, or were it for that they did expect great glory, by making men beleieve they had wonne it by force, and not by fraud.

43.

THE obligation which remains, sowres the sweet of a

43.

benefit, which either is rewarded, and then as good a turne is done to the benefactor, or else the badge of ingratitude remaines, which is equall shame to the benefit received: those benefits seeme sweet which are received by treason, which is a thing so hatefull, as it takes all merit from whatsoever action: A traytour cannot finde fault without accusing himselfe; ingratitude becomes praise, reward blame; and thus depriving men of hope, a new benefit is received from being ingratefull.

44. *The Capitoll being possesst, the next day they gave battell, in the plaine, betweene the hill of the Capitoll, and the Palatine hill, where by the death of Hostilius, who opposed*

sed himselfe to Mutius,
the upholder of the Sa-
bine squadrons, the Ro-
mans began to give
backe.

Romulus borne along by
them that fled, made a
stand upon the Palatine
hill; he vowes a Temple
to Jupiter, and prays to
him for victory, wherein
he is not wanting in his
owne endeavours.

IN vaine doe men call to Hea-
ven for helpe, when they with-
stand the helps of Heaven; many
doe invoke it, and yet doe hinder
it; they require help from others,
and doe abandon themselves, and
by their deeds contrarying their
E 4 words,

words, they shew not to desire what they have intreated; and to have intreated that they might not be heard.

45.

Romulus gives on where the danger is greatest; the most hardy follow him; they drive Metius into a moorish ground, where both parties meet with all their forces, the one to succour their Captain, the other to oppresse the enemy.

45.

THe death of valiant Leaders, is the losse of battels; the danger of death is the cause of Victory; all run to the battell, as well out of hopes of reward, by freeing of him, as feare of losse, in losing of him; all dangers ought to be shunned,

shunned, when the State is in safety.

The businesse was doubtful, when amidst bloud and dead bodies the Sabin women came running forth, treading underfoot their own feare, with the feare they had of others; with haire about their eares, their garments rent, and turned towards their brethren, towards their parents.

46.

Too late, said they, is Rape revenged, now when Violence is turned to Love, Rape to Matrimony, and by that Matrimony children are had; we are mothers, we are wives; who is

46.

104
„ it you will revenge, if there be
„ none that suffer offence, but in
„ being revenged? You cannot re-
„ dresse our losses, and you take
„ from us our recompense; you
„ revenge our long agoe lost vir-
„ ginitie, by bereaving us of the
„ fruits we have thereby received;
„ you revenge your sisters Rape,
„ with the slaughter of your bre-
„ thren in law; if you desire re-
„ venge, pardon the innocent; let
„ them only suffer death, who are
„ the occasions of so great evils:
„ Though we be without fault, it
„ may in some sort bee termed a
„ fault, to have beene the occasion
„ of great mischief: Wherefore
„ endeavour you with your wea-
„ pons to pierce our husbands
„ bowels? they love your sisters,
„ but we your enemies.

104
„ Cut off these armes, which
„ have so oft served for chaines a-
„ bout their neckes; pierce these
„ breasts which give sucke unto
„ your enemies: let the injuries of
„ kisses

„kisses and embraces be cancelled
„by wounds and blood. O how
„much more unhappie are we in
„being revenged, than in being
„ravished: deare husbands, cast a-
„way your weapons, suffer your
„selves to bee slaine, in a warre
„where it is more glorious to
„lose, than to overcome, where
„victory is parricide.

*Such like, and more ardent
passions proceeded from
the mouths & eyes of the
grieved Sabine women,
when both sides made a
stand, either enchanted by
their laments, or induced
thereunto by danger,
which being equall, they
stood more in need of in-
terposal, than perswasion.*

There

47.

84

47.

THere hath alwayes beene a scarcitie of men, who love to interpose themselves in businesse; the shame of yeelding hath ruinated more Princes, than the cove-ting to overcome; how many are there that have cast away themselves, for want of some that would dissuade them?

Heat and cold meet together in luke-warme; for contraries often joyne, if they have a meane: But those who want a meane, never unite, but consume one another.

48.

*In the already wearied af-
fares, and dangerous to
all sides, wise men doe
willingly intercede, and
are rather the occasion,
than the cause of accom-
modation, for hee easily
suffers himselfe to bee
perswaded by another,
who*

who was already perswaded by himselfe; contrary Elements, when they are weary of fighting, appease themselves in mixture.

Forc'd mariages amongst Strangers, begin with warre, and end in peace, because they have those women alwayes as mediators for peace, who first caused the warre. Voluntary marriages amongst friends, are worse; they serve for ballance to some present accomodatiō; they begin in laughter, and end in teares; but they are worst of all, when they are violent, infort betweene enemies; for such matches having not any one good moment, the eyes of love serve for incitements of hatred.

The uprore being ceased,
the one and the other

Cap-

48.

-C+

49.

*Captaine meet in the
midst to become friends;
and as not hatred alone,
but rather desire of rule,
had share in the warre, so
had it also place in the
peace.*

49.

OH the deceitfulnesse of man,
which makes the desire rule,
seeme necessitie of revenge; there
is too great a difference betweene
the true, and pretended cause, the
formers thoughts are wholly bent
upon the State, the latters upon
particular persons; the one after a
little vent, having anger for its
ground, vanisheth; the other keeps
still its station, becomes heredita-
ry in our posterity, by acquiring
what it desires, it increaseth; the
end serves for a beginning, and
sometime serves for the occasio-
nall meanes, and for such a cove-
tous

tous desire, the world is too narrow: wee doe destroy our owne desires, wee hinder our end whilst we doe endeavour it, and as most inhumane in the most humane affection, we kill those out of a desire of rule, which being dead, cannot be ruled. What other passion is there in man, by seeking to satisfie, the which part of that is lost, which is able to satisfie? This affection was placed in all men, to render the rule over al difficult to one alone; nor would this peradventure suffice, did not every one hinder it in himselfe; facilitating his being overcome, by overcoming; our very body it selfe, whilst we endeavour that it may live, wee bring it nearer death, so as we cannot so much as therein overcome our enemies, without losse of our friends.

The victory which by Physicke we obtaine over our diseases, weakens us more and more, and at the last, we lose at once with as much
faci-

facilitie, as at another time wee were with violence victorious: we have need of as much force to keepe a State, as to win it. People which are overcome by bloud, in being subjected, make the Conquerour subject to service; by their losse they hinder his rule, they put a period to his victory: things sublunary are not eternall, because all who are actors by winning, lose and suffer by working. Those Princes may be called fortunate, who inherit their States: those wise, who finding them full of malecontents, winde themselves smoothly into them: those most happy, who without losse of bloud by reputation only, or some such like meeanes, make themselves masters of them; these like Rivers, the further they goe, the greater they become, whereas they who have need to use force in conquering, lose it by using it; and like Bees, whilst they hurt another, lose their sting.

These end the warre, joy-
ning together with their
minds, their Cities; a
more profitable agree-
ment for Rome, because
she thereby grew greater,
than would have beene
the victory, which would
have lessened her.

50

The Sabins would free
their Country of one in-
firmitie; and drawing
from out of her, her best
bloud, they expose her to
death by every little ac-
cident; they would ex-
tinguish Rome, and they
make her greater; they
bring

*bring stones, to stone
withall, and they use
them for building; the
chiefe Sabins become
Senators; Titus Tatius
partner with the King.*

50

HE might well enough have
knowne by the example of
Rhemus, that it was safer to be *Ra-
mulus* his enemy, than his com-
panion.

Examples, if they be of actions
which have had good successe, they
make us more fervent in them; and
though of such as have had bad
events, they make us notwithstanding
cease to goe on, because men
have greater hope of good for-
tune, than feare of bad; they
feigne a likelihood, where there is
none, and where it is, they make
diversitie appeare, either to in-
courage, or not dishearten them-
selves.

Titus

Titus Tatius suffers himselfe to be blinded, by being made companion in the Kingdome; he quits his ancient Scepter, where hee ruled alone, to share in anothers; he drinks the poyson, because the cups brim is sweetned; hee perceives not how Rome growes, because himselfe is the causer of it.

There is nothing so pleasing to man as this, no cosenage that equals it; it is the overthrow of the wisest, the ruine of them that are most powerfull; wee doe not in a straight line see in our selves things which are within us, but by reflection in others; ones owne beauty is not knowne without a glasse; and he whom we have raised to greatnesse, is the glasse wherein wee see our owne greatnesse; his greatnesse is with contentment beheld; and greater hee would be seene, not for that it is he, but that wee thinke it is our selves; he is not suspected, because ingratitude is not expected from him;

him; he is not feared, because his is not valued; to throw downe seemes to bee more easie than to build up; it is true, that Towers which are raised on high, may at ones pleasure be throwne downe, but not men. Greatnesse is not wholly to bee attributed to any one, who was not the sole causer thereof; when the subject concurs not onely passively by receiving, but actively by cooperating, we call it an helping hand, not an entire Fabrick; hence it proceeds, that when we thinke we have reared a greatnesse lesser than our owne, wee finde that they themselves have reared unto themselves a greater.

51.

These two Kings reigned a long time together with concord and agreement. I wonder at Romulus, who not being able for a few

few dayes to beare with
the company of an associ-
ate given him by nature,
did for many years beare
with it in a Competitour
given him by Fortune;
but he perchance desired
the death of his fellow
King might proceed from
fate, or else expected what
occasion time would af-
ford him, that he might
not discover his brothers
murther did proceed
from desire of rule, but
zeale to Iustice.

Present faults make past excu-
ses of no validitie, for once a
man may bee wicked, and yet bee
thought

51.

thought good; the reiterating of vicious acts, causes them be believed to proceed from mans depraved nature, not from the necessity of the occasion: wary and vigilant men make shew alwayes to be good, that they may be once bad to purpose; and this is a greater vice than others, because it borders neere upon vertue: what better could bee expected from him, who had no religion but selfe-respect, no desire but glory, no thought but how to rule alone, who could nor suffer his brothers company, the Senates assistance, who for that hee would have no cause to feare God, would be believed the son of a god?

The King loves no companion; hee entertaines one, because hee would have none: a Kingdome should have two Masters, if a King could suffer a companion; the government of two is not displeasing to subjects, because the number of the bad, exceeding the number of the

the good, they desire what is bad, rather than what is good; so if they erre, they may have a place of refuge; if they offend, they shall be backt; the losse of one Masters favour, is a sure way to purchase the others good will; all things are lawfull, save what is lawfull; and were it not that a Citie is first divided, and then destroyed, such a servitude would be more favourable than libertie, at least it would be conformable to custome, which calls living licentiously, living at libertie: a Kingdome is the government of one, a Commonwealth, of many; the latter is lost by lessening, the other by extension; two good Masters doe oftentimes turne bad, but two bad ones are seldome scene to turne good: it were better they were three, for so they might the more easily be reduced.

Titus Tatius was now in
the

52.

the fifth yeare of his
reigne, when some of his
neighboures slew some of
the Laurentinian Embas-
sadors. Romulus who
till then had concealed a-
ny desire of discord with
his Colleague, now suf-
fers it to breake forth,
cloaked by Religion;
and that hee himselve
might bee thought to bee
pious, and his Companion
impious, hee publikely
sayes, that the authour of
so great a wickednesse,
ought be delivered up to
the Laurentinians, but
he

he could not compasse his
desire, nor perhaps did he
desire to compasse it. Ti-
tus Tatius doth not con-
sent that they shall bee
punished, shewing him-
selfe to bee an obstinate
defender of those who
were his, though in things
unjust.

The Laurentinians incou-
raged by this dissention,
or were it Romulus
that did incourage them,
slew Titus Tatius as he
was busied about some
sacred action.

THe Subject commits a fault,
and the Master is slaine; there
F would

would be no wicked men, if there were no protectours of wicked men ; permission is protection. The first faults are theirs who doe them, the second theirs who permit them ; and the Prince shares in all, if he punish not all.

53. *The Sabins suspect that Romulus had a hand in their Kings death, but hee as seeming to reverence Iustice, and not to feare violence, neither made shew of too much joy, that hee might not seeme impious ; nor of over-much grieve, that he might not seeme fearefull : an affected semblance of grieve, where the*

the grieve may make appear innocent, where the fault is dangerous, and the danger is of insurrection, in my opinion is rather a harmefull, than profitable advice.

IT is an argument of feare, feare an argument of possibilitie of being offended; and the act suddenly succeeds such possibility either knowne or beleevd: who makes his people feare, is made feare by his people; their tumults are easlyer allaid by undaunted men, than by wise men; for they more esteeme the brest than the braine, and are sooner compeld than perswaded.

A Prince can commit no greater error, than to seeme capable of offence. What is possible is the onely object of the will, nor doe men covet that which they thinke

F 2 impossible

53.

impossible to obtaine: feare ought
alwayes to bee had, but never to
be shewne.

54. *Romulus renews Truce
with the Lavinians; and
whilest hee makes him-
selfe sure of these, warre
is brought home to his
owne doore by the Fe-
denatians; but he as-
sted by artificiall cun-
ning, suddenly overcomes
them.*

54. **T**O say the truth, fortune fa-
voured the Romans; all
things concurred to their in-
crease, many might, and none knew
how to ruinate them: at first when
it was easie to oppresse them, no
one stird against them; when they
were increased, in the common dan-

danger, every particular will of himselfe undertake the warre; and whereas all joyned together, had overcome them, each particular by them was overcome.

When they could not by weapons beat their enemies, their women worke upon them by teares, the last and fatall bulwarkes of the walls of Rome. 55.

I Am not of their opinion, who labour to prove that nothing but vertue had share in the Romans actions, and therein grew hot, as if to terme them fortunate were a badge of infamie. 55.

Wherefore ought daring bee praised in a man, and not fortune; he hath no greater share in being bold, than in being fortunat; be-like men beleeeve her to be without
F 3 man,

vid:
infr:
Pag:
231.

man, because we see her not within him, but shee is borne with us, as are other qualities; and if shee be not an operation of the understanding, shee is at least somewhat that moves the understanding to worke in due season; she is a kind of Enthusiasme, shee makes him speake well, that knowes not why he speakes; she makes him worke to purpose, who knowes not why he workes; a might and power of the last individuation of a temper, which workes not only in the subject; but transmit her qualities forth thereof; whence are caused operations in us, useful to others, caused by somewhat, which what it is wee do not know; and it is that mans fortune: shee is an incantation of that temper, as Rhetoricke is of the tongue, and makes her selfe be waited upon by all the other parts of man; shee is called fickle, not because she ceases to be good, but because shee gives way to a better.

The

The Veientanians slept in quiet, whilst their neighbours were together by the eares, not unlike men oppressed with a Lythargie, who sometimes waken at the houre of death.

5⁶.

THe splendour of that fire which burnes our neighbors, deceives the eye; it seemes faire, because it shines; it seemes good; because it gives light; the harme thereof is not felt, till losse bee thereby occasioned.

5⁶.

They begin to ransacke the Country; they tarry not the comming of the enemy, and retorne home: The Romans, when they
F 4 *found*

5⁷..

found them not in their Territories, goe to the Citie Veia; the enemy comes forth to meet them, and to their losse give battell; the Romans forrage their Countrey: and finally, at the Veientanians request grant them peace for an hundred yeares.

Whilst Romulus, to call the Armie to a Rendezvous, made an Oration in the field next to the Caprean fenne, a great and sudden storme of wind and thunder arising,

sing, hee was no more
seene; but being covered
with a thicke obscuritie,
vanisht from the sight of
those who heard him.

The people did suspect that
the Senatours (whom he
had deprived of their
authority) had slaine
him.

TOuching the ends of men of
might, Fame is alwayes fini-
sher; as if death her selfe did feare
to affront them, if not inforced;
or because they have offended ma-
ny, that is beleevd to be mans re-
venge, which is caused by Natures
selfe; it may be likewise they be-
leeve that art may have powerfull
remedies against death, and that
Princes being thereby taught, can-

57.

not dye naturally, but by excesse
of old age.

58.

*The people make a tumult;
their choler boyles apace,
but leapes not out of the
vessell; they shew them-
selves readie to follow a-
ny who wil revenge him;
some Senator, who at
that time had made him-
selfe the peoples Leader,
might doubtlesly have
made himselfe Master
of the Citie.*

*Julius Proculus came
in, affirming that he saw
Romulus ascend up in-
to heaven, and that his
will*

will was to be called the god Quirinus; the people beleve him, appease the tumult, and in stead of revenging him, prepare to offer sacrifice unto him.

They detract from the merit of *Romulus* his actions, whilst they augment his nature; they lessen the wonder, and increase the reverence; they abase Divinitie, if they thinke it of so small esteeme; they vilifie humanity, if they think it not of so much worth; the common people doe easily deifie Princes; him whom they see greater than many men, they thinke him greater than Humanity; they apprehend their *Genus* to be above that of other individuals; they beleve Infinity to bee there where they cannot reach unto with their eye;

5th 8.

eye; and from the superiority of power, argue the superiority of Nature.

These are the actions which were by *Romulus* done, in warre and in peace, who wanted not spirit to recover a Kingdome for his Grand-father, nor counsell to build one to himselfe, nor wisdom to strengthen himselfe in Peace, which facilitated by his so many Victories, might be long enjoyed by his posteritie.

Romulus lived glorious by reason of his great achievements, and falling in the midst of them, before he had made triall of adverse fortune, he dyed fortunate.

Fortune is not sufficient to raise a man to greatnesse, if shee be not accompanied with worth; and worth is vaine, where fortune wanteth: they are, perhaps, more unfortunate than others, that are more fortunate; they are accustomed to see good events ensue, yea, even upon bad advice and counsel;
and

and because they can give no reason of their good effects, they alwayes addresse themselves unto them without reason, as if their past good fortune, were a cleare demonstration of future felicitie, and not rather an argument of approaching miseries, in a world where the star which in the morning is the Zenith to our head, is at night found to be the Nadir to our feet.

Vertue, when unaccompanied, is not discerned; counsell is only approved by the event; and if vertue unaccompanied be discerned, it is either despised as unusefull, or pitied as unhappie.

If God should make the effects of all things succeed contrary to our wisdomes reason, men might perhaps beleeeve the world were governed by chance; and if all things did succeed according to wisdom, I am afraid such is humane weaknesse as it would deifie her, whereas now, through the only

only light of Nature, it is forced to beleeve, that there is somewhat without or forth of us, in which all things are.

Those who have Vertue coupled with Fortune, ascribe all actions to their wisdom; nor will they acknowledge Fortune to have any share therein, and indeed it behoves them to know, that she hath a great share in affaires, which makes them feare that instabillity, which cannot be apprehended from else-where.

Romulus was made great by Vertue, guarded by Fortune, till hee became great; Vertue, though faire, useth to be accused of fruitlesse; Fortune, though fruitfull, of instabilitie; the ones labours usually faile of fruit, the others gifts of beleeve. *Romulus* may well be termed happy, whose vertue was fruitfull, and whose fortune permanent.

To compare him with any of the Ancients, the resemblance betwixt

twixt him and *Moses* is not to bee let slip; the one and the other in their births exposed to the waters: *Moses*, for *Pharaos* feare; *Romulus*, for that of *Amulius*; both of them fortunately saved. *Moses* past his youths under shepherds attire; *Romulus* was educated amongst shepherds. *Moses* is the cause of *Pharaos* death; *Romulus* killeth *Amulius*. The one and the other were Leaders of People, the Introducers of Senats, Law-givers; and as they were alike in the beginning of their lives, so were they in their ends.

The Lord takes *Moses* from the sight of the Israelites, hee leads him into a Mountaine where hee ends his dayes; he buries him, his death not being knowne. *Romulus* was taken from the eyes of the people, was led into some solitary place, was slaine by the Senators, and buried, his death not being knowne. A like case, from a differing cause, and differing end; because

because it was effected by different agents: God because hee saw the Israelites addicted to idolatry, that they might not adore *Moses* as God, would not suffer them to see his bones buried: Gods adversary, out of a desire to keepe and continue the Romans Idolaters, to the end that *Romulus* may bee adored as a God, procures that his death bee not knowne, nor his bones seene: the one, because hee is not found, is not worshipped; the other is worshipped, because he is not found.

Romulus his morall faults, were the rape of the Sabine women, the death of his brother, and of his colleague; his politicall error was onely his indowing the Senate with so much power, and then his bereaving them of it.

The government of a State, is but a slippery path; one onely bad action is sufficient to ruinate a Prince, who hath beene raised up by a thousand good ones.

I doe

I doe not remember that ever any Ruler sped amisse, for having left authority to the Senate, but oft for having taken it from them: If men commit errors, men ought to bee punished, and not the calling; and if the calling be feared, wherefore was it ordained? but it is not feare which causeth such wickednesse, it is the violent thirst after rule; otherwise they would not leave the condition, when they take away the authority; being no lesse subject to their possibility of reuniting, than of command: the institution and permission of Senators in the original of commands, is not only done that subjects may be content with their servitude; but because Princes are really satisfied with what they ordaine: It is the nature of beginnings, not the art of ruling. Who prepares for a great leap, is content to arrive at the side of the ditch, but afterwards staves not there: mans understanding, because

cause it hath not in this world any adequate end, coveteth as an end, any thing that seems desirable unto it; and it hath no sooner compass that end, but it makes use thereof as a medium to arrive at some other end, which was first hidden from it by the former, and continues to be the desired end till it be obtained; a little master-hood seemes enough, where there is none at all; but where there is but a little, enough seemes nothing, if all be not had.

Romulus in his beginning was followed by the noblest sort, because he won upon them by conferring on them authority; in his end he was hated by them, for that hee incensed them by bereaving them of it. Hee cannot suffer the Senate which he himselfe did institute, and because they would have him as a companion, whom they accepted for their Prince, hee would make them slaves whom he tooke for assistant Officers: both exceed

exceed their bounds, they in obeying, he in commanding. The Senate which is made to assist the Prince, thinkes onely how they may lessen him: the Prince who ought governe the Senate, seekes to destroy it: that Magistracy in States is of duration, which is content to execute as a Minister, not to command as a Lord.

I have nothing of misfortune to recount of *Romulus*, save what was the occasion of his death; and yet therein he was fortunate, because it was sudden. If there bee nothing else of evill in death, but the troublesome cogitations of the minde, and the painfull torments of the body, both which doe precede it, that death which is sudden, preventing torments; that which happens soone, preventing the troubles of the mind, should be esteemed best.

There is nothing better in generall, than what is worst in the individuall: the foundation where-
on

on the Colossus of the world, doth erect it selfe to manifest its beauty, is death: it is the most solid part of consort, on which all dependants doe depend. What would there be after the losse of originall righteousnesse, if men did not die? the feare thereof holds in fortunate men; the hope thereof withholds unfortunate men from wickednesse. Who should take away death, should take away the Corner stone from the worlds Fabrique, should take away all Harmony, all order, and should leave nothing but dissonance and confusion: the order of the universall, is contrary to that of individuals. The heavens which of their owne particular nature doe turne from West to East, are by the universall nature carried every day from East to West: Death can neither bee bad nor painfull, if to die be naturall; for naturall things are good. I am of opinion, that to end ones dayes in decrepit age,

age, is to fall asleepe, not to die: and say to die were to bee accounted amongst the worst of things, yet to bee dead, were certainly to be numbred amongst the best.

One must live, as considering he must live alwayes, not that hee must once die: the Soule which is that which understands, ought not to thinke of death, for shee never dies; and if the Soule doe not, the Body cannot feare it, because it knowes it not, as that which by meanes of contemplation, is a dead carcas before it be dead: Wherefore should the Soule rather feare, than desire the death of the Body, which is burthensome unto her? and why should not the body also be desirous to bee bereft of its imperfections? it leaveth frailty, to put on immortality; it dyes base, and may rise glorious; death is alwayes good, but appears sometimes to bee bad, because they are sometimes bad who dye; let a man live

live innocent, for he shall bee joyd at the remembrance of death, not terrified; and were not natures frailty subject to lapse, I should be sory thee should bee provoked to do good out of the feare of death, or allured by the love of reward: the very foule ill favorednesse of doing ill, ought to be a sufficient feare; and the comelineesse of having done well, a sufficient reward; and if a man would consider that rewards are received, he might consider what reward he hath already received, when of nothing hee was created to immortality; nor am I any whit the more satisfied with well doing out of gratitude, but much when good is done out of love due to the infinitely lovely Nature of GOD.

Let us then say:

I doe not only love thee Lord, because thou hast created me; but I will returne againe to nothing for thee. I doe not love thee, because thou hast promised mee the beati-

beatificall vision of thy divine Essence; but I will goe even into hell for thee. I doe not love thee my God, for feare of evill; for if it bee thy Will, I covet it as the greatest good. I love thee, because thou art altogether lovely, because thou art all Love it selfe.

Lord, if I love thee not as I instruct others to love thee, assist the weaknesse of my nature, with the efficacy of thy helps: Stir up my understanding, direct my will; whilest to the Glory and Honour of thy great Name, in the which I desire to end my life, I put
an end to this my
Booke.

Where the Author names Princes in wicked actions, he means Tyrants; and where hee writes of Fortune, he understands her to bee a cause unknowne to us; which as all others depend upon God, the cause of all causes.

The end of Romulus.



TARQVIN

THE

PROUD.

BEHOLD a Serpent,
Tarquin the Proud:
 hee is not alive, so
 hee might kill; hee
 is dead, and conse-
 quently may heale: he is not pain-
 ted out only for delight, he is de-
 scribed also for instruction; you
 shall see him made to bow by his
 owne proper fruit, who watered
 with the bloud of so many inno-
 cents, like to the Cedar, erects his
 head higher than all others. You
 Princes, or you, who ere you bee,
 that reade this Treatise, decline
 this Serpent, tend not this Cedar,
 G which

which in the beginning may seeme to contest with Heaven ; passe forwards, turne backe againe, and yee shall see him throwne head-long into Hell : that eare that shall take offence at the progresse of this a-cromaticall harmony of so many harsh Notes, let it expect to see it set to such a cadence so harmoniously, as may serve to salve all dissonances his Principallitie hath passed through.

It is never safer to write the actions of Tyrants, than under the government of good Princes ; the dissimilitude of their manners will not permit them to beleeeve that their actions are blamed, whilest the faults of others are related.

My booke, which otherwise is a Satyre of Tyrants, is a Panagerricke of Princes ; and if therein I sometimes praise Liberty, I compare it with *Tarquin* ; I hold a good Principallitie as free, as a bad Common-wealth tyrannous : all formes not corrupted are good, I
only

only know that for best which is posselt, for all change is very bad.

Wherein could I better serve the now present Princes, than by putting their subjects in minde of the calamities of such as have proceeded them? People who now live, know not their owne good fortune, because they are borne in it. I doe not desire they should be unhappy, but that they should know they are happy. I like not that they make triall of Tyrants, but that they reade their lives; then will a good Prince be revered, when it shall be knowne that God sometimes permits bad ones.

And wherein could I doe better service to subjects, than in writing of a Tyrant, of *Tarquin*? If those who write Tragedies, have thought, not onely to cause pleasure, but likewise profit to Princes, they have been deceived; they make them most unprofitable, when most pleasing: then is the Tragicall person approved of,

when hee marches in the middle, betweene vertue and vice; then is the alteration of the Scene delightfull, when the change is made unlooked for; but such a person instructs not them, because he only teacheth the like, or else the contrary; but so unlooked for an alteration of Scene instructeth not, it terrifieth; since as the worst of Princes are subject to dangers, grounded upon reason, so cannot the best withdraw themselves from events caused by Fortune.

They who write the Lives of such Tyrants, as haply arrive in the Haven, delight, but ruine Princes; they are well liked, because some would follow their owne sensuality, and be secure, as if they thence might draw precepts how to live well, and governe ill. I write a usefull Tragedy, the life of a Tyrant Prince, who reigning without reason, did with reason, to a wicked beginning, and worser progresse, joyne an end worst of all.

To

To prescribe precepts unto Princes how to governe well, hath in it somewhat of delightfull, but it is a laborious, I had almost said, a proud undertaking; they are for the most part *Idea's*, their being lyes in the Intellect, out of which they have no substance; they are covered formes, and because impossible, not obtained. A point which in the abstract is indivisible, is divided into many parts in the concrete, may suffer infinit divisions: I thinke examples fitter for the managing of such an affaire, than precepts; they tend both to the same end, yet run not the like danger; and in examples, Princes are more pleased, when compared with a worser than themselves, than when with a better; if the party spoken of surpasse them, they listen to it with shame; with emulation, if hee equall them; but if hee come short of them, with glory. Bad actions related of former Princes, redound

to the praise of the present, if they be not found in them; and say they be, they make them yet bee borne withall. Detraction is applauded, and praise is not beleev'd: in the latter, Truth purchaseth the name of flattery; in the former, malice, the name of free spoken; whence it proceeds, that the lives of worse than our selves, are both more willingly written and read, than the lives of such as are better.

If I were fit to prescribe rules to Princes, I could not choose a better meanes, than by propounding the life of Tyrants; it is much easier to say, a Prince ought not to be thus, than to say, thus he ought to be; the negative, than the affirmative: those who too severely restraine the within certain narrow limits, dishearten, not instruct them; whence it oftentimes ensues, that having broken those narrow bounds, and thereby thinking they have transgressed the Lawes of a good Prince, they become

come head-long, as bad as who is worst. The goodnesse of Sovereignty doth not consist in one individuall point, it hath its latitude; and so depraved is humane nature, that he is to be esteemed vertuous, who is without vice; hee exceeding good, who is not bad. All men have not the worth of *Cyrus*, and though some have it, they want the meanes of shewing it; to propound his life for imitation to one who hath not his endowments, is as much as to go about to erect the like building, where are not the like foundations. Al may easily abstain from *Tarquins* vices, but all cannot imitate *Cyrus* his vertues; he who hath not wings cannot mount towards the skies; and who hath not the eyes of an Eagle, cannot looke upon the Sunne.

All things of this world are so knit together, that one depends upon another, and upon that, another; who so takes one linke from

this chaine, breakes it. In a Prince who hath won reputation, courtesie begets good-will; in another, who is foolish, it begets scorne, because the linke of reputation is wanting; many lines meet in one point, many wayes lead to one place; he that cannot goe the troublesome way, let him goe the easie, for if he arive not at his journeys end with so much praise, he will yet get thither without blame.

I. *To give instructions to Princes, it behoves to looke into their nature, and sometimes to be contented to allow him good, when hee cannot bee better.*

Servius was the last birth of regall power in Rome; after

after him shee brought
forth nothing but a mon-
ster.

Tarquin makes his en-
trance into the Kingdom
by force; hee may pur-
sue therein with courte-
sie, but he will make use
of cruelty: in the death of
his wifes Father, hee
shewes himselfe to be re-
vengefull; in leaving
him unburied, proud; in
comparing him with Ro-
mulus, irreverent.

A Princes death, though vio-
lent, if his whole Race cease
in him, is no impediment to the
good government of him that suc-

ceeds, if he be not a cause thereof himselfe, through his bad government: where there is none of the bloud, there is no head; where there is no head, people doe but murmur, they take no resolution; the greatest provocations to revenge, are either necessitie or profit: friendship is maintained with men, seldome with dead carcasses; and if it remaine after death, it is onely for compassion, not revenge. Princes ought then to assaile their subjects with good turnes, not with weapons; the present moveth more forcibly, than what is past; and though ancient friendship may hinder some one from applauding, new benefits will retaine him from plots and machinations: one who hath received a good turne, either doth not budge against his Prince, or if he doe, is followed by none; his past ingratitude teacheth others how dangerous it is to oblige him: But what will you more? wicked

wicked men for a punishment of their mis-doings, are confident where danger is, diffident, where securitie.

Those cruelties which tend not to dominion, are furious, not discreet; he who useth them is a cruel beast, not a cruell man. It seemes *Tarquin* did better love revenge, than rule; rather to have his hands blouded, than his head crowned. Princes are sometimes borne with-all, if necessity of government cause them be cruell; but if they be so by instinct of nature, they are alwayes hated.

Hee who feares hee hath taught others how to enter the Kingdome thorow that breach which he hath made by violence, kils all such Senators as were friends to Servius.

IF

2.

If it be a hard matter to maintaine tyranny, where a Tyrant is driven out; it seemes impossible to maintaine it, where a good Prince is expeld; in such a case the Government cannot bee preserved from being lost; for hee that will kil all the friends of a good Prince, must kill all his subjects.

In the putting to death of one alone through cruelty, a Prince obligeth himselfe to commit many the like facts; the one springs from the other, and the last is alwayes most fruitfull; hee doubts the tye of Allyes, he leares the hatred of their friends; and to free himselfe from danger, worketh new cruelties, which never render him secure, but put a necessity upon him to commit greater.

He who hath won a Kingdome by the sword, if he lay not downe the sword, the sword will lay downe him; he is too great a foole who will use the same food to continue health, which he did to acquire

acquire it; and the Tyrant is not wise, who maketh use of the same meanes to governe a State, which he did to possesse himselfe thereof. This is not written that it ought to be done, but because it usually is done; it is rather the nature, than doctrine of men; they thinke that good alwayes which they have found once good. It is a precept convenient for Princes, not becomming Tyrants: goodnesse preserves it selfe with its like, naughtinesse is reduced by its contrary; and so great is the power of good, and the weaknesse of evill, that men have often a necessity of being often good, bee it but to continue themselves the longer bad.

Far be the sword from the hands of Princes; pardon, not cruelty enforceth mens hearts; the latter used against one alone, begets the hatred of a thousand; the former is not used without the addition of new friends. The Tyrants feare
in-

increaseth with his power, and looke how many he commands, so many he stands in awe of; hee is not worthy to bee obeyed, who useth not the meanes to bee beloved.

I blame not Princes, because they make themselves bee feared, but because they know not how to make themselves bee feared. It is not likely that this desire of being feared should take so firme root in the greater number of Princes who begin to rule, if it were not usefull for government; it makes us like unto God: but men in causing it, suffer themselves oft times to be deceived through ignorance, or miss-led through difficulty; and whilest they endeavor to reach unto what is Divine, they fall into what is bestiall.

Man in his nature is free, borne to command, at least not to serve; man is unbridled, uncurbed in his passions; he is first a creature, before a reasonable creature: the chiefest

chiefest bridle he hath is feare, because it is the chiefest affection, if it grow not to so great a height, as it cause it selfe be driven away by the desperation which it selfe is cause of: he who despaire of life, cannot feare death, for hee esteems himselfe as dead already, and future things are onely capable of feare.

Love is a filken thred, which holds in the horse, whilest he feels not himselfe spurd by any other passion, which then or breakes or overcomes it, and runs to the destruction of his ruler, because the incitements of anger, and desire of glory, are more powerfull than the affections of love.

'Tis good to cause men feare, but not to cause ones selfe be feared by men: 'tis good that they feare their owne actions, not the actions of their Princes, unlesse by reason of their Princes actions; feare would be the childe of Majestie, not of cruelty; the one causeth

seth reverence; the other is accompanied by hatred; the former is the of-spring of worthy actions, the latter of bad. That master is safe whose vertue is feared, and he is but in a bad condition, whose folly causeth awe. A Prince partakes of Divinity, when he causeth himselfe be feared, because he desireth that wee should doe well; and he sides with the Devill when he causeth himselfe be feared, because he himselfe would doe ill.

3. *Tarquin keepes alwayes about him a guard of armed men, that he might by force maintaine that Scepter, which hee had wonne by force.*

3. **A** Princes Guard, if it finde him not a Tyrant, doth oft times make him one. If feare bee the greatest obstacle to wickednesse,

ness, security is the greatest occasioner. It is certainly a strange thing that a Prince should keepe a guard to secure himselfe from those, of whom he himselfe is the guard. That Common-wealth neighbours upon corruption, which stands in need of a guard; and that principality is already corrupt, which hath need thereof. Naturall operations proceed from forme. If a State maintaine it selfe by ought else than forme, it is violent; if violent, of little durance. An army will not suffice to guard that Prince, whom a few will not serve to guard; because few are enough, where is the love of many; and many are but few, where is the hatred of all.

The same sword that may defend him, may kill him, if the covetousnesse of a Mercenary man, meet with the liberality of a Common-wealths man. How unhappy is the life of a Tyrant? it be-
hooves hee guard himselfe from
those

those that guard him. And what is it that can render him safe? Affections? no: for wicked men are hateful even unto such as reape benefit by their wickednesse. Reward? no: for the rewards which other men promise for the death of a Tyrant, are alwayes greater than those which hee himselfe giveth for the preservation of his life. An Oath? no: for an Oath which is a good thing, partakes not of any thing that is evill, and nothing can bee worse, than to defend a Tyrant. Shame? no: for it is no shame to soule ones hands in his blood, whose death would make paricide be commendable. Good God! If Princes did but consider how easie and safe a thing it is to governe well, how difficult and dangerous it is to governe ill, Souldiers might well serve to adorne their Majesty, not to defend it.

A good Prince may distaste, but not offend; hee may purchase ill willers,

willers, but not enemies; and hee needs but a slender guard, because he distastes but a few, and those out of necessity. If malecontents issued onely from the tribunall of Justice, and not elsewhere, Officers would bee a better defence than Souldiers: But a Prince is in worse condition, in bestowing his favours, than in administring Justice: in the one, necessity defends him; in the other, liberality makes him odious. If Justice goe amisse, it acquires equall number as well of friends, as enemies; whereas reward be it never so well bestowed, pleaseth but one, and causeth the hatred of all others that are unrewarded; which is so much the greater, because it proceeds not onely from losse, but from a disregard the Prince seemes to put upon those that share not equally of his favour; declaring them to bee inferiour to him hee hath made choyce to bestow it on.

A Prince

A Prince cannot then be termed a Tyrant, whilst hee requires a small guard, that hee himselfe may guard many; hee rather deserves that name, when he indeavours to secure himselfe from the hatred occasioned by his wickednesse: but howsoever it bee, a Princes guard is not pleasing to the Senat; they imagine it to be invented to offend them, not to defend the Prince; with whom they alwayes are at variance, for that liberty, which is already servitude, when it falls into the hands of such as may safely use violence.

4

To make his power greater, and himselfe more terrible, Tarquin himselfe alone takes cognizance of all causes, yea, criminall: whence hee hath opportunity afforded

ded him to condemne
such, from whom hee
may either hope for pro-
fit, or feare damage.
He hates the vertues of
other men, hee covets
their riches; which at
such a time is an enemy
to the possessor; nor can
there be a greater hap-
pinesse under a Tyrant,
than to bee unfortunate.

IT is held as a necessary Maxime
amongst Princes, that all things
may have their dependancy upon
one alone; 'twas strengthened by
the testimony of an approved
Counsellor, who is thought to
have put it amongst his first in-
structions, for the preservation of
an Empire. But either I am decei-
ved,

ved, or he did not intend such private affaires, as properly belong to justice, whose errors can cause but small harme to the Prince. He surely intended such as belonging to government, are apprehended under that point of determination, upon which depends the being, or not being of a Principallitie.

It behoves a Prince as well to abstaine from all things which not become him, as to doe those things which belong unto him. Hee who either too much slackneth, or too much inhaunceth his power, abandoning the degree of a Prince, doth either too poorly serve the Common people, or doth too arrogantly command the Nobles; the one of which errors springs from too much familiaritie, the other from too much pride.

All men though never so wise, or of never so meane understanding, when they heare the lives of
past

past Princes recounted, bee they good or bad, praise the goodnesse of the one, and blame the wickednesse of the other. Yet are there some who afterwards arriving a supreme authoritie, leaving those things which they thought praise worthy, betake themselves to those which in former times they had blamed. Wherefore, many thinking this to happen out of meere election, cease not to wonder, that when Princes may live with safety and honour, they chuse to live in feare and diffamation; whereas if they had considered how that men doe seldome imbarque themselves in evill actions, but are led thereunto, not of their owne will, nor yet against their will, but of somewhat beside their will; they would have had more occasion to inquire into the reason, than to continue wondring.

I verily beleeve that all Princes would be good, but that many are hindered by their Subjects, & some miss-led

miss-led by the times. Fortune hath likewise a great share, if not in making a Prince good, at least in making him appeare so. *Cesar* might happily have beene exceeding good, if he had met with *Cyrus* his Subjects or *Traians* times. It behoves not to meet with great resistance, where any great worke is to bee well brought in: the comparisons of the worst, are sometimes necessary to make the best knowne: all Princes may bee good, but not all seeme good. The subjects complaints are of power enough to dazle the writers eyes, so as he see not cleereely those actions which he writes; the Prince is left alone to speake against all, whereas all speake against him, and injustice is belceved to be alwayes on the more powerfull side. Subjects are so desirous of liberty, as he that would governe them well, must not governe them at all. He is not accounted a good Prince amongst them, who doth not lay downe

downe his principality. Cities, where the more powerfull trample upon the Plebeians, can never be well governed, but through ill government. If he defile his hands in the blood of the Nobility, they call him Tyrant; they hate him as a Tyrant, and oft times make him become one: If he suffer the common people to be trod under foot, he is no Prince: that dignity is conferrd upon him, that he may defend them most, that are least able to defend themselves. I had almost said, it is as hard to know who hath beene a good Prince, as it is to be a good Prince: Had it fallen to the common people of Romes share to give their vote, they would have proclaimed some one for an excellent Ruler, who by the Senate was declared a Tyrant.

I deny not, but acknowledge that Princes sometimes run voluntarily into evill wayes, being deceived either by a false good, or false glory; they finde it more
H trouble-

troublesome to make good a Tyranny, than a principality; they thinke it likewise more glorious; they betake themselves unto it, as if that were more praise worthy which is more difficult than that which is more convenient.

5. *Tarquin reduceth the Senators to a small number, that they may be lesse esteemed of by others, and more observant of him.*

5. **T**He sinewes are taken from the authority of a Senate, when it is reduced to a few: the authority of one Senator, is hindered by the extēding of it to many; particular men grow lesse esteemed of, because that one man is not so much esteemed of, for arriving at that degree whereunto so many come,

come, and the reverence of the common people, by how much it is extended, by so much it is lessened: one man in a small assembly, either by his worth or fortune, may easily make himselfe umpire; and inequality preserves a Prince, if it be of many; but if it be of one alone, it ruines him. That Prince which is not a Tyrant, ought augment his Senate, because great men are more dangerous than great Magistrates. A Prince who is a Tyrant, hath good fortune, if hee finde it lessened, whether his intention bee to curbe it, or quite extinguish it. Those who augment the number of Senators, if they doe it with an intention of weakening the Senate, by how much more they increase it, the more they strengthen it: how great soever it be, tis alwayes in a possibility of becomming little, and the authority of a great many, may be managed by the brains of a few. If they doe it with an intention of

introducing their well willers, whilest they thinke to make Senators partiall in their behalfe, they lose those subjects which were formerly partiall unto them. Such things are not reall, but rationall: they are not found in realities, but onely in the understanding. The same path which mounts from the foot of the hill, descends from the top: hee who from the Tyrants palace lookes upon the Senate, miss-likes the Senate; but if from the Senate house, hee looke upon the Tyrant, he miss-likes the Tyrant. Hence it proceeds that many Magistrates of a refin'd judgement, have sometimes brought into the Senate factious people, to make them change their mindes. Hee is the selfe same, which was in the market place, and which is in the Senate-house; but the prospect is not the same from the Senate to the market place, as from the market place to the Senate. Who changeth the prospect of necessity, chan-

chargeth likewise the point. That which now posselt, appeared e-vill, producing envie and malice, being posselt, (and so those removed) is acknowledged for very good: the greatest and most wonderfull metamorphosis that is, is that which presents it selfe to the eye of any one, when hee layeth aside envy and malice.

Tarquin marrieth his daughter to the Latines, hee thinkes to shun the danger hee might have run in marrying her amongst his owne friends: to augment his forces, that hee might tyrannise over the Romanes, and to prepare meanes, that hee might in time sub-

H 3 due

due the Latines.

6.

TIs true, a neighbour friend was more usefull to him, than a thousand friends, or kindred a farre off. Who sees not the Tyrant, cannot aid him; his defence is of no further extent than his voyce: the chances which befall him are conspiracies, and conspiracies are sudden. If hee have friends a farre off, he may bee said to have a place whereunto to fly, when he is driven out; not a stay to keepe him from being driven out. But *Tarquin* did rather aspire to the winning of the Latines kingdome, than feare the losse of the Romane: besides, in so hard a businesse, he reapes profit enough, who receives no dammage; and he is sufficiently defended, who is not offended.

He was a good example to himselfe, of the bad examples which marriages into the blood Royall doe produce: the first thing they con-

conceive withall, is the desire of government; the first birth which they would bring unto their husbands, is a kingdome. Matrimony requires equality, which if it finde not, it causeth. Principality in its owne essence, covets inequality. A Princes kindred, are they who first shew dislike unto the government, as they who are likeliest to desire it, aptest to compassse it. Kindred in a private estate are not alwayes friends; they pretend equality, grow to emulate, and what they cannot compassse by emulation, they endeavour by malice; which mischief it is impossible to allay, either by benefits, or wisdom, or goodnesse, or anything whatsoever, death excepted. The world would bee much obliged to an Author, who would shew the means how a man might shun envy and malice, when the subject is capable thereof.

7.

Tarquin had already won great power amongst the Latins, and perhaps that hee might make it greater, was the cause why he desired them to assemble themselves together in the Ferentine wood, to treat of publique affaires. They came as appointed, hee delaied his coming; and Turnus, who together with a great deale of libertie, had but small store of understanding, not able to suffer so long delay, we may imagine spoke in this

*this manner in the midst
of them.*

TARQUIN, (*O you Latins*) is
not to be ranked amongst the un-
wary, nor numbred amongst the unad-
vised. This action proceeds not from
pride, and if from pride 'tis done that
hee may governe; not through neglect.
He who is wont to make his compani-
ons become his servants, will have his
friends become his subjects: hee tries
our patience by the same meanes, by
which hee once won the kingdome; to
assemble a Councell, is the authoritie of
a Prince; not to appeare there, the pride
of a Tyrant; to indure it, the patience
of subjects.

Tarquin is too great to be any other
member of our body, than the head: the
harmony of many good voyces is marred
by one, though better, if it be too great
and loud. If you bring in a Lion into
your Common-wealth, prepare likewise
to obey his will: humane power is as
the winde, which though it stands faire

for whither we are bound, yet if it bee too great, it drownes us. Those who are by much greater than wee, ought to bee kept at farre off as may bee, or at least where they are. Wee ought endeavour to have them not our enemies, but not desire to have them our friends: their conversation is not company, it is servitude, if it become not enmity. Hee who would see a large figure at the best advantage, must not see it neere to his eye, the sight thereof requires a great distance.

Princes become Tyrants, because they are never satiated with government: they will bee Lords of our honour, goods, and persons. They hold all which they possesse not, their enemy; they thinke all lost which they get not. no man is content with what he possesseth: our felicity which is never found, consisteth more in getting, than in having got: for in the one, men take delight out of a beleefe of attaining to it, whereas in the other they are vext, finding they have not attained therunto.

I perswade my selfe that if one were

T. and

Lord of the whole world, and had what ever he could desire; yet cloyd with worldly delights, hee would despaire, seeing hee had not found out felicity, nor knew no other place to looke her in.

There is nothing so averse to a Tyrant, as liberty; nor is there any worse liberty to him, than what is nearest him: his people learne by example, when they are not fomented by force.

If a stranger take upon him the authority to assemble a Councell, hee will shortly have enough to command it. Formes are not changed in an instant: accidents which have no bodies, are those which cause change in bodies.

Doe you beleeve that hee who is not content to be Prince amongst his owne people, will content himselfe to be a private man amongst the Latines? doe you beleeve he will abase himselfe to the brother-hood of a City, who leaves no wickednesse unattempted, to raise himselfe to Monarchies?

You have for example before your eyes, the Romans; examples are no more beleeved, they admit of interpretation;

tation; such as had wont to serve for instruction, before a deed be done, finde no beleefe, till after it be done. They are become pernicious in humane actions, they are not considered as they are; every one fits them according to his owne desire, either to beleefe too much in them, or not beleefe in them at all.

What will you have to doe with him from whom you can expect no helpe, unlesse it be to rule you; nor expect counsell, unlesse it be how to grow cruell? And say his customes hurt not you, because they are in him; they will endamage you, because they will passe into you: mischief of its owne nature is taking, and 'tis likely that Tyranny hath somewhat of sweetnesse in it, since that many laying aside the securitie of Principality, betake themselves to Tyranny not without danger. We have too much forgot our selves in suffering his allyance; matches with Princes, become not a Common-wealth; strangers have got one foot in, to take possession; citizens have a leaning stocke without, whereby to make them-

themselves Masters thereof.

Tyrants ought to be hated, not revered by the people; it is not safe to mention him, much lesse to introduce him into a Common-wealth; hee who speaks of him, should make him be believed to be a Tygre, a Sphinx, not a man.

I cannot believe you have a desire of Lords to become servants; I know not whether yee suffer your selves so perishe through ignorance, or weaknesse, or through both; for my part, my vote shall cease together with my life, and not before, in this Common-wealth; whilst Turnus lives, silence shall not be the overthrow thereof; hee who will follow my steps, shall not be commanded by Tarquin.

Here Turnus made an end,
when each one turned about
to salute Tarquin,
who arrived at that very
instant;

instant ; and being admonished to make his excuse, said that the occasion of his so long stay, was his having stickled in a difference betweene a father and a sonne.

Turnus, who by fiercenesse and freedome of speech, had wonne reputation amongst the Latins, following his accustomed wont, answered ; Such differences require not much time to end them : the sonne is bound to obey his father, if he be good ; if he be bad, to beare with him ;

him; howsoever, to reverence him: and he hath then least reason on his side, when he pretends to have most.

8.
IT would be a great good fortune to be borne in times fitted to ones proper *Genius*, if those times were permanent, or if one were to die therein: but since that alterations happen almost alwaies, and death but seldome; it is a great misfortune, to live in a happie time, and dye in an unhappie one: it is not without wonder to bee considered, that wee who with times change our externall habits, will not beleieve with time, our internall habits ought also to bee changed: the ignorant, as well as the learned, are subject to this weaknesse, either for that they know not how to change that nature

ture whereunto they are accustomed, or that they beleeve they ought not to change that which hath beene successefull to them; but Fortune often varies with man, because shee changeth the times, and they change not their manners.

That Lion-like fiercenesse which was serviceable to *Turnus* in private factions amongst his equals, ought to have beene dissembled with his superiours; winning behaviour, advisednesse, and fiercenesse mingled together, season any affaire excellently well, when the winning behaviour appeares sufficiently, the advisednesse not at all, and the fiercenesse but a little.

As it is weaknesse to dissemble with ones equall, so not to dissemble with ones superiour is rashnes; it is not at all times good to say all what the heart thinketh, though all what the heart thinketh bee good; freedome of speech ought
some-

sometimes to bee forborne, when freedome of life is corrupted; who useth it not in a besfitting time, hinders not, but hastens power.

Tarquin, who wrought himselfe in by little and little, ought by little and little to be wrought out; to oblige him to doe some great act, by which he may either become, or learne how to become Prince: it is not good to passe by the least errors in an entire Commonwealth, and it is worse to withstand all in a Commonwealth corrupted; at such times to appear too much a good Commonwealths man, is the next way to produce a Tyrant; the weight which preserves in safetie an upright pillar, causeth it fall, if the pillar leane to one side. Difficulties ought not alwayes to be thrust at, in desperate cases, it is better to commit them into the hands of Fortune, than to seeke to remedy them; where wee cannot helpe our selves, to be busie, can worke

Ph. { worke no other effect, than hinder the effects of a cause superiour to our selves; and whilst that comes by, by unknowne wayes, impatience in seeking of it out, may easily not afford it leasure to come; or disturbe it, by causing it take some other way: How many hath Nature helpt, whom Art hath abandoned? and how many hath Art flaine, whom Nature would have restored to health?

Op. 11. 15. { *Tarquin* sayes no more: he is not wont to defend himselfe with words, who is used to heare nothing but flattery: these speeches take him unprovided, because they are free: to answer all, pertaines to private men; to punish all, to Tyrants. Princes ought not contend in words, lest they the more incense others, or become themselves too passionate, and bring their Majestie in question: more place is reserved for craft, when lesse is afforded to choler. A Tyrant sometimes is well pleased, when

when he heares himselfe provoked by great men ; hee seekes out offences, that hee might commit them ; he is glad to receive them, out of a desire to revenge them ; if he meet with none, he faines them, either for his better excuse, or that he may be the more incens'd.

Tarquin, *that hee might plot the death of Turnus, hath recourse to some of the contrary faction, by whose meanes, a servant of his is suborned to receive great store of armes and weapons into his house.*

Strangers have fitting meanes for revenge in a factious Citie: if there be none there obliged to doe ill, there are alwayes enough,
con-

contented to see ill done ; if there be none that have the act of anger, there bee enough that have the habit of hatred : a stranger in such places meets seldome with any provocations to bloud, save hatred and malice ; because offences are for the most part, either old, and alreadie forgotten, or new, and already revenged ; it is neither wisdom nor fore-sight for a Citizen so to embroile himselfe ; the stranger is gone, the Citizen remains. If the businesse succeed not, the former hath the glory to have attempted, the other remaines in danger, because he hath attempted, and suffers scorne for that it hath not succeeded ; such kind of people would not bee found in Cities, were there not many in all Cities, who wanting experience and discourse, abound in nothing but ignorance and malice.

10.

The next morning, Tarquin

quin assembles together many of the chiefe of the Latins, in the midst of which, we may imagine he spoke thus:

MY yesterdayes delay, ob yee Latins, hath delayd all our deaths. Turnus was grieved at it, because his hopes were thereby prolonged; hee that do thought to make himselfe Master over you; he deferd his thought, because he on whom his thoughts were chiefly bent, deferd his coming. I know this to bee true, and such is his untamed pride, as might make you know it also: but it will appeare plaine unto you, when searching into the most secret places of his house, you shall finde them filled with weapons.

A fierce and proud Citizen, in the Lim of the Citie; if he tarry there, hee will be King; fiercenesse makes him rashly seeke for that, which pride makes him

him covetously desire, such a ones greatest enemy is he who is the Cities chiefest friend.

Our owne eares filled with so many opprobrious lyes uttered against me, may be a witnesse of this; he never sought for glory, but by detracting from others; he is one of those who terme themselves free, and are so indeed, in as much as they are not subject to reason; a people who see nothing but faults, because they seeke after nothing else: they blame the Sunne, because it offends their eyes, and know not that the fault is in their eyes, not in the Sunne: a wicked generation, whose fame lies onely in diffamation; their praise in blaming, their greatnesse in detraction. They say whatsoever comes next to mouth, so it bee bad enough; they are proud, envious, arrogant, and malicious; they seeke for applause, through evill speaking, and because they meet with it in the weaker sort, they make the better Citizens grow desperate; and under a false shew of libertie, they first confound the true one; then oppresse it: they have no meanes

to raise themselves, but by taking from others; that they may rise, they put him under-foot whom they detract, and so, as they may appeare great, like women, they care not whether it be by flesh, or a chopine: this kinde of people most pernicious to the whole world, sow confusions, make Princes become Tyrants, raise discords in Senats, fill Cities with calumnies, and finally with dead men.

TURRUS says, I aspire to the government of you; he brings for example, that I am hatefull to mine owne people, an exemie, a Tyrant to them.

O miserable condition of Princes! when as necessitie inforces them to oppose themselves to the ambition and hatred of great ones, they call them Tyrants: They cannot make good the reasons they have of putting them to death, unlesse the Princes will suffer themselves to be staine: conspiracies are cald trickes, and inventions, when they end it not in a Tragedie with the death of the Prince; they are held impossible, though their truth be scene every day; it is lawfull to beat backe force by force;
if

if private men doe so, they are borne withal; if not commended; in Princes it is blamed, & necessity is termed cruelty; the weakest seemes alwayes to have the justest cause, though true justice consists only in such as are powerfull, who have it in their choice to doe, what the others are inforced to doe.

And who is it that hates me, unlesse it be the Senate, which cannot brooke Princes, nor be brooked by Princes; it was a friend to Servius, because it took not from him that Authority it tooke from the Kingdome, though it belonged not unto him; but it hath taken both the one and the other from me, to whom of right they did belong; Right is not by them weighed, but numbred; and is there beleev'd to be, where it is cryed up by the major partie.

A Senate is ordained for free Cities; where such freedome is not, it corrupteth Government, and makes Monarchie turne Tyrannie.

Do not beleev'e (O Latins) that the faults which they object unto me, proceed from any vice of mine, they are caused

caused through the necessity of government: they who desire a mediocrity in liberty, desire it not as meaning to rest there, but that they may the easier compass what yet remains behind: if a rider put a rough bit in a horses mouth which will not be governed, no man blames him for severity; they blame the horse because he will not be ruled; and yet they call the Prince cruel, who would curb the Senate, and call not the Senate head-strong which will not obey the Prince: where there is such a magistracie, the Prince must either beare himselfe called Tyrant, or suffer his Principality be taken from him, or give it up himselfe: this name of Tyrant, which is so frequent in every mans mouth, what is it, but his command who forceth himselfe to be obeyed? which if it be true, every one that commands is a Tyrant; since there are very few, or indeed none at all, who, all other impediments taken away, doe naturally affect servitude; for my part I will rather renounce, than prejudice government; quit the Principality rather than lessen it.

I

But

But allow it, though voyd of all truth, that I be hateful, anemie, and a Tyrant to my people: who knowes not that if I have enemies, it beboves mee seek for friends? that hee who is hated of his subjects, cannot subsist without the love of forerunners? that he cannot by violence hold in the Romans, who hath not the Latins for his faithfull confederates? In brieife, Truth is a precious liquor, it will not be kept under by the waters of falshood, but will float above; and falshood is a viper, which wounds with her teeth, and beares the cure in her belly.

You see now the words which Turnus made use of to falsifie truth, are the selfe-same by the which I prove the truth; you shall see the same man, who hath offended mee, stand up in my defence. I will then shew you what Tarquin is, when you shall know what Turnus is.

Truth hath no such enemie as likelihood; and oft-times, one truth is an utter enemie to another.

More

More beleefe ought to be given to things which appeare impossible, than to those which admit of likelihood; who would make a lye bee beleaved, delineates forth a seeming truth, and not the impossibilitie; I was about to say, and am almost of the opinion, that he is in a worse condition, in the worlds respect, who is loaded with calumnies, than hee who is infested with accusations.

There is no lye so dangerous, as that which most resembles the truth; many likly propositions seeme to conclude a necessary truth; and many true antecedents, are of force enough, yea, amongst the most wary, to averre a false conclusion.

It happens now and then, that an innocent man can deny no interrogatories, yet will deny the consequence; a thousand moments make no difference in time, a thousand points make not one

line, and a thousand likelihoods make not one truth.

It was true that *Turnus* was a proud man, it was true that he was fierce, it was true that he blamed *Tarquins* tarrying, it was true that he had a number of armes hid in his house, but all the rest was false; there is no means to preserve ones selfe from such wicked wayes, and perverse calumnies; they are mines which cannot be avoided, but by fore-seeing them.

A State is maintained by accusations, ruined by calumnies. It is a common tenent amongst politicians, the latter part is not heeded now adayes by the world, because that though men doe not beleieve falshood, yet they give way thereunto. Subjects use their pen, not their tongues; and though in what they write, calumnies are oft enough deserved, yet are they not punished, because the calumniators are not knowne. Such proceedings puzzle the braines of Princes; and

if

if it cause not diffidence arise in them, it causeth confidence to cease: all are not of his opinion, who at the same time when as he swallowed downe the suspected drinke, put into his friends hand the calumnious paper: it was an action of one void of feare, I cannot call it a wise mans part: falsehood when constantly affirmed for truth, if it deceive not even those who know the certain y thereof, it assuredly makes them suspect their judgement: many beleeve, that nothing which is done would be knowne, if this meanes were not used; and I am of beleeve, that but a little is knowne, because it is used; if men were certaine there were no other way of accusation, than by revealing themselves, in things which appertaine unto the State, their durie and honour would lead them to it; and for what concernes civill conversation, oftentimes hatred and envie, yea, sometime zeale and consci-

story

ence. Then if a Prince would reward accusers, and punish slanderers, he would in a short time make happie his estate; for that accusers by little and little winning reputation, they would at last come to such an height, that men would not be ashamed to accuse, as the most reputed Citizens in the best times have not beene: the suffering of accusations to goe lesse in reputation, and calumpnies to get footing, hath beene the increase of man-slaughter, and the continuance of enmity. Happie shall the subjects alwaies be of that wise Prince, who doth countenance accusations, and checke calumpnies.

it.

*The Latins goe to Turnus
his house, prepared to be-
leeve all, if they finde
that of the armes true;
and*

*and finding it to be true,
they make him prisoner;
they assemble the Coun-
cell, and placing Tur-
nus and his armes in the
midst, the anger of those
who stood about him did
so increase, as not allow-
ing him to speake in his
defence, they found a
new way of death for
him in the Ferentine wa-
ters.*

IN such like cases as this, it is
equally capitall to be accused,
and to have conspired: there is no
defence but impossibility; a possi-
bility of conspiracie is no sooner
scene, but the conspiracie is belee-
ved: likelihood, if of good things,

causeth so earnest a desire of them, or if of bad, such a feare, that it leaves no place for consideration of the truth, because it affords not time for the sifting of it. Conspiracie affrights the heart, and stupifies the members; who heares it, is apter to say, I should not have beleevd it, than I doe not beleeve it. Slander seemes to be there impossible, when the accusation ought to be capitall to the accuser, if it prove not so to the accused: in all other cases helpe may bee hoped for from adherents; in this to defend another, is to offend ones selfe: who shews himselfe a friend, seemes a confederate. Judgement cannot rightly be given, whether the accused ought to die or not, till such time as he be dead, because the truth of the conspiracie cannot be knowne till the danger be over.

In those waters where *TAMMUS* lost his life, the Latins almost lost their Libertie. Libertie of life ceaseth, when liberty of speech ceaseth;

seth; and it is hatefull to a Tyrant, because it is necessary for a Common-wealth: he cannot be said to be master of himselfe, who hath his tongue subject to another; one only, who feares not to speake, and knowes when to speake, will cause feare in a thousand: they withhold themselves from doing ill, who are sure to heare thereof; and one free-man that hath braines, is sufficient to save a whole Citie, which is in hazard of being lost through silence. Liberty belongs to equals, flattery to inferiours, the one is the Common-wealths Nurse, the other the Tyrants foster-mother.

It is true, and I have already said it, that *Tarnas* was not cautious in the handling of Libertie; but in his case it had beene all one, even with them that had gone about it never so wisely; it was not his death which damnified the Common-wealth, it was the example of his death.

12.

Tarquin summons the Latins againe to Counsell, he praiseth the revenge they have taken of one that was seditious; hee desires them to renue their league and friendship with the Romans.

12.

THe proposition peradventure was not pleasing, yet was it entertained, though much beneath the Latins; and to say truth, who was there that would gain-say Tarquin? who was there that had a minde to follow Turnus his foot-steps, which led to the Ferentine waters?

Hee who is hated, so as hee bee also feared, though he have not mens good will, yet he useth his will and pleasure with them; hee is obeyed, if not loved; nothing

is

is granted unto him, nor any thing denyed him.

Terrible examples, though they rob us not of power, yet they take from us the soule of that power, because they take our courage from us; they incite anger, but accompanied with feare: from which conjunction, hatred and cowardise ariseth. The death of one great man, if it bee single, way well produce hatred, but makes not that hatred dangerous, because it is not accompanied with despaire; it brings with it all the good which Princes thinke to reape by being cruell, and not all the inconveniencies. A present good action is able to make a past bad one bee forgotten, when it is thought the like will not againe bee done. One harsh note in musicke, is not onely allowable, but makes the harmony the more pleasing, so as it be but one, and be followed with a concord.

Tar-

13.

Tarquin commands that all the armed youth assemble themselves together, in the Ferentine wood; where all the people being met, and having for their greater securitie, mingled together the Roman and Latin Colours, bee there-out framed an armie.

13.

THIS way of security, is not very safe: a knowne signe among them, distinguisheth them from confusion, and confusion is onely hurtfull to the cause. With what courage will hee fight, who stands in continuall feare either of being abandoned, or not followed by

by his companion? An armie composed of sundry Nations likes me well, out of another reason: they seldome mutiny all together, because they joyntly understand not one another; and many times there is caused such an emulation amongst the severall parts, as in the whole makes an harmony, when it is not accompanied with the disagreeing notes of hatred; and this also if the parts bee more than two, will not lessen the sweetness of the concordance, though it increase the commanders labour. When one side mutinies, the other is quiet, expecting profit for not having mutinied: when one side advances it selfe against the enemy, the other endeavours to be as forward, holding it a scorne to bee behinde: they have two incitements to fight valiantly, their owne particular honour, and the honour of their Nation.

The generall is the ground worke of the musicke, the other parts

parts if there bee no discord amongst them, make not harmony with him; and making it with him, they altogether make up a most exact consort. All his difficulty lies in so behaving himselfe, as his affection may be a center equally distant from all the parts of the circumference; 'tis the like disproportion that the whole become a part, as that the commander become partiall.

14. *Hee wages warre against the Volsians, hee by force takes from them Sueffa, and Pometia; hee reserves the prey, to build a Temple to Jupiter.*

Tarquin was a wicked Prince, but a valiant Captaine.

IF evill have no essence, what
I would become of it, were it not
supported by goodnesse? This it
is, that is the ground worke of the
worlds worst things; it is that
which maintaines sinne: to be vali-
ant in warre, if it secures not Ty-
ranny, it at least prolongs it: It
suffers not feare to become con-
temptible, which arrives at the
degree of being shamefull, when a
Prince is feared, because his com-
mand is of force, not because he is
worthy to command. All cruelties
are bad enough, but they are bet-
ter endured in a Commander of
worth, than in one of no estimati-
on: in the one weaknesse is dis-
cerned, and hath feare for its com-
panion; in the other fiercenesse,
and hath daring for its compani-
on. Men alwayes goe with a kinde
of reverence, when they assault
their master, and with feare also,
when that master is a brave fellow:
and where feare and reverence
once enter, conspiracies seldome
suc-

succeed well. It behoves that subjects, to the end that they may patiently endure a Tyrant, confesse him to bee a great Prince, if they acknowledge him not to bee a good one.

Valour is a kinde of Befar, which comforts the hearts of subjects, that they may the better endure a Tyrants venome: but they seldome arrive at such a degree of vertue, as makes them tolerable; and when they doe arrive there, then they are the more secure, but not altogether out of danger: 'tis true, that reputation may defend severity, but not cruelty; and if cruelty, such as is used in armies, not such as is practised amongst Citizens.

A cruell Tyrant could bee nowhere better than in a Campe, were hee but secure of his Citizens. Those vices which are insufferable in a Citie, are sufferable in an army: 'tis no new thing there to see blood, where nothing

but

but blood is shed; and military discipline, if it may not admit of a cruell Prince, requires often a severe one.

If warre incounter with a Tyrant, who naturally is given to blood, it augments his cruelty; because the use of seeing dead men takes mercy totally away; if it meet with one who useth cruelty, because hee would not be despised, whilest it affords him occasion of making himselfe glorious, it takes from him the occasion of being cruell. Hence is it, that the obtaining of victories is sometimes poyson to Princes; and on the contrary, an antidote to Tyrants: the one sort being already in safety, finde themselves oft-times egged on by victory to those vices, from which feare kept them back: the other already famous, finde themselves withheld by glory from those vices whereunto the doubt of being despised, had incited him.

Tarquin

15

Tarquin besiegeth the Gabians, but being driven from their walls, and despairing to overcome them by Romane Art, he hath recourse unto his treacheries ; wherein his youngest sonne interposing himselfe, wee may imagine that Tarquin being himselfe most wicked, did most wickedly, in some such sort as this encouraged him.

15.

“ WE have in vain, O Sextus,
 “ by force affraid the Gabians, nought now remains but
 “ craft, which is the second means
 “ of greatnesse ; force being the
 “ first, craft is good to adde force
 “ to

“to things already acquired: force
“is requisite to maintaine what
“is gotten by craft: The one of
“it selfe is of no use, the other
“without relish. I surely should
“not put this behinde what ever
“else, for what concerns the aug-
“menting of States, were it not a
“weapon which oft lose h his
“edge, when it is first made use
“of. Who will availe himselfe of
“wisdomme, shall bee alwayes
“good, but not alwayes great. Li-
“berty were not necessarily na-
“turall to man, were not force
“and craft to bee used in his sub-
“jection.

“No people are overcome but
“by some meanes, and that means
“deserveth praise, because it hath
“prevailed. They are to bee bla-
“med I confesse, who have offered
“at a Tyrannous government, but
“not they who have effected it.
“Tyranny is a flame, which at the
“first sends forth smoake, burnes
“bright at last; and becomes al-
“wayes

“wayes most cleare, as it findes
“least resistance.

“That which many account
“infamy, is for the most part o-
“vercome by the rumor of victo-
“ry, or by time quite extingui-
“shed : most Princes, are Princes,
“because their predecessors have
“beene Tyrants.

“To become great, it is not
“sufficient not to feare the sword,
“if either mens tongues or pens
“be feared; they blame all names,
“whereby they may be brought in
“subjection : to purchase immor-
“tall fame, it sufficeth that all
“ones actions be great; equall re-
“nowne is got by a good and by a
“bad report, if they bee equally
“great.

“Those Philosophers which
“the world calls wise, I call cras-
“ty; they are weake people, there-
“fore blame violence : abject,
“therefore blame greatnesse :
“poore, therefore prayse pover-
“tie.

“They

“They teach to bee contented
“with little, because they them-
“selves cannot attaine to much;
“and that which being necessity
“would cause them bee pittied,
“they would make the world be-
“leeve were vertue, that they
“might bee admired: every one
“that hath braines in his head,
“seeketh priority, and who can-
“not get it amongst men, seekes
“for it amongst children.

“What doe they intend when
“they blame greatnesse, but to
“make themselves bee beleaved
“great; since not being so, and
“passing their time in rest and
“quietnesse, as drowned in a loth-
“some idlenesse, they seeke to a-
“buse, nay to hurry downe those
“glories which the most renow-
“ned Princes of the world have
“won with their so much labour
“and danger. Great sure is their
“humilitie, who being the most
“contemprible of all the world,
“would make themselves bee be-
“leeved

“leaved greater, than who are
“greatest. They contend against
“nature, and yet would sublimare
“themselves contrary to the will
“of fortune: they teach all things
“to bee contemptible, save such
“qualities as they are endowed
“withall, though those bee of all
“other most contemptible; but
“what will you? they praise
“these vertues as chiefest, which
“make them greatest.

“We all aime at the same thing;
“every one blames that course
“which hinders him. They praise
“humility, poverty, and conti-
“nency, even to the Skies, because
“their so doing makes them seeme
“great: we all fish in the Sea, but
“with differing tooles; one takes
“a Minim, the other a Whale.

“Goe then my sonne to the Ga-
“bins, seeme as if you fled from
“me; accuse me of cruelty, inde-
“vour their confidence, behave
“your selfe as one of their com-
“panions, if you will attaine to
“command. *We*

*We may beleeeve that those
most wicked lessons were
given to a sonne, to in-
struct him in villany.
Hee obeyes, flies to the
Gabins; and 'tis likely
that in the midst of them
he broke into such like
words as these:*

16

*“L Oe here a sonne, O Gabins,
“Escaped from his fathers
“sword, to shield himselfe in his
“enemies armes! he brought mee
“up as a sacrifice, to make an ob-
“lation of mee to the Temple of
“cruelty: if fathers bee enemies,
“it behoves enemies be fathers.*

16.

*“He would cause the same lone-
“lineffe in his Family, which hee
“hath done in the Senate; hee
“knowes not how to bee father,
“neither of his Countrey, nor
“Chil-*

“Children. All his thirst is after
“blood; he onely covets rule, that
“he may kill. He covets the com-
“mand of Citie, onely that hee
“may dispeople them. He likewise
“would destroy father-hood it
“selfe, perhaps because it resem-
“bles Principallitie.

“His cruelty is a fire, which al-
“wayes burnes what is next unto
“it, that after other things it may
“consume it selfe. He seeks his sons
“blood, cloyd with the blood of
“so many Citizens, for his fur-
“ther delight, hee must needs
“use some extraordinary cruel-
“tie.

“Hee seeth hee hath sons, hee
“thinkes them like himselfe; hee
“feares them, because hee feares
“himselfe. The conscioussnesse of
“his owne misdeeds, corrodes
“him; he feares his owne imagi-
“nation, which onely represents
“unto him horrible things; and
“hee thinking to take courage,
“betakes himselfe a fresh to mur-
“ders:

others: and by how much the
more hee imbrues his hands in
blood, that he may free himselfe
from fearing others, hee feares
himselfe the more. A Tyrant
would not know what to desire,
if after having committed so ma-
ny man-slaughters, hee should
forget the having committed
them: fortune may well free him
from punishment, but nothing
from feare; his feare endures as
long as doth his life.

'Tis safer to be *Tarquins* ene-
my, than his sonne; there is no
such way as enmity to free ones
selfe from being assassinated by
such a one.

Startle not, O ye *Gabins*, at my
being begot by *Tarquin*; Chil-
dren doe not alwayes resemble
their fathers: a tender worme
sometimes hath its beginning
from a knotty peece of wood. If
things begotten did not oft-
times differ from things beget-
ting, there would be no varietie

“of individuals, but onely a di-
“dinerfity of fpecies ; and the
“world, deprived as it were of its
“beauties, would remaine alwaies
“in the fame ftate.

“’Tis I, ’tis I, that will revenge,
“fo many villanies ; the fates will
“have it fo. Tyrants are like fruit,
“like iron ; they from their owne
“fubftance produce the ruft which
“confumes them, the wormes
“which devoure them.

“If love to fathers were natu-
“rall, bruit beafts would like-
“wife obferve it : and how many
“children doe wee fee adulte-
“ronfly begotten, who love thofe
“as their fathers, who are not
“fo ?

“If he begot me, ’twas either
“out of the itch of fence, or in-
“citement of ambition, either to
“delight or to eternife himfelfe :
“and if he did defire a child, he did
“not defire me for that childe: and
“what obligation owe I then to
“him, who defired my life when
“hee

hee knew mee not ; and knowing mee, desires my death ?

The Gabins entertaine him; they beleeeve, their beleeff springs from their desire.

17.

THis alone oft times brings forth monsters, because it couples with chimera's : great desire is subject to great deceit ; or rather he may almost be safely contented, who vehemently desires : he beleeveth what he covets, possible : he frames arguments to make himselfe beleeeve it, and thinkes his understanding who deceives him, jumps with his conceit. The wisest many times run upon this rocke ; for the object of a prevailing passion suddenly presented, is of equall force with a load-stone : the sense which seeth it, thinkes not it needs the help of reason to judge it ; it first allowes it, and

17.

then disputes ; and oft times findes it not to bee poyson, till it begin to worke.

18. Sextus Tarquin seemes not willing to medale in civill affaires, hee perswades them to trust him with what belongs unto the warre : and so behaves himselfe, that having some small bickering with the Romans, he came alwayes off with the best.

18. **T**HIs is a heat which seemes naturall, as if it cherished, when indeed it is feverish, because it burnes.

Sonnet are like their fathers, when their mothers differ not in manner

manners from their fathers. *Sextus Tarquin* should have thought himself worse than his father, in that *Tullia* was his mother, more wicked than her husband.

Who alwayes doubts, is never deceived; wise men beleeve nothing but what they see, and what they see they often doubt of.

Suspicion is no fault, but the bewraying of it, a great one; wherein can a man be injured by his not beleeving, when he reapes the like profit as if he did beleeve, and yet is wary as if hee did not beleeve? The best rule which can bee given for living in safety, is alwayes to have beleeve, yet alwayes doubt. Things only which belong to God, ought to be beleeved, not examined: He is the very truth it selfe; he is not false, no deceiver: yea it is hee that teacheth us not to beleeve men, because they are all liars.

If men were what they ought to be, they should be accordingly

dealt withall; but corrupt bodies, require not solid meat.

The wary will never erre in their beleeving little, and the inconsiderate, will seldome but erre in their over easie beleefe. 'Tis true, that he who cannot make use of incredulity, will runne into as many errors, as he who is too credulous.

Suspition doth well in all things, not that we should let slip all things, but that we should bee in all things cautious. Incredulity should make a man be advised, not irresolute; nay, sometimes to compasse great actions, it is necessary we recommend somewhat to fortune, wisdom not being able to secure us in all things: which fortune most commonly (let others say what they list) sides with the wise, or for that shee follows them better, or for that they lay better hold on her.

The Gabins might have so entertained him, as if hee had tolde truth,

truth, he might have availed them;
if otherwise, done them no harme.

*Hee is affable unto them
all, justly divides the
spoyles; will bee their
companion; nor shewes
any superiority, save in
valour. And so ties the
hearts of the people to
him, as his authoritie a-
mongst the Gabins, is not
inferiour to Tarquins,
amongst the Romanes.*

19

THis Estridge, which seemes
as if hee would cut the ayre
with his fethers, hath wings to
cousin, not to fly withall: he swal-
lowes Iron, disgests it not, but ren-
ders it up againe: He like a stage-
Player, puts on the semblance of

19

doing like a Princee, not of being a Prince; and if of being a Prince, in no other manner, than as the picture of a man may bee said to be a man.

Tis true, hee knew how to bee good; he might have beene good, but would not.

Those who value daring, more than wisdom, thinke nothing glorious, but what they have with their daring won. The reputation of a good Prince relisbeth not with them; they cover the sharpnesse which Tyranny brings with it, and honour most what makes most noyse: they thinke that braines are made for contemplation, not for government.

This is the ruine of youth; the most of them beleeve that true wisdom consists in being courageous; and are not aware that whilst they seeke after the fame of valiant, they purchase the title of foole hardy; and no greater misfortune can befall a man, than to have

have a heart, and to want braines:

He sends a messenger to his father, to let him know what hee hath done, and to heare from him what hee would have him doe.

20.

The counsell which Tarquin gave his sonne, was the same which Periander gave Trasylulus. He leads the Embassadour into a garden, where with a wand hee tops off the heads of the highest flowers.

20.

AL men walking in the fields, or disporting themselves in gardens, cast their eyes suddenly upon such a flower or fimple, as is

K. 5

higher

higher than the rest, and breake it off; or for that the hatred of pride is so naturall, as it makes not only him who is endued with it insufferable, but whatsoever represents it; or by vertue of an exquisite imagination, which making it appears to us dissonant and deformed, will not permit us with patience to suffer it: or else it may proceed from the easinesse of cutting it shorter: for all such things as doe eloigne themselves from the equality of the others, eloigne themselves also from their defence.

It is not good in gardens for any plant to bee greater than the rest, unlesse it bee a Tree, whose bulke makes it not easie to be snapt in two. A flower which is higher than another is ropt off: a taller Tree is seene with admiration; so in Cities, hee who will bee esteemed and not cut short, must if a Citizen, be equall; if Superior, a Prince. He whose fortune or valour hath made

made him higher than others, let him stoope till they be equall. Let him not expose himselfe to eyes, if hee will shun hands; otherwise hee causeth envie in those who ought to be his equals, because he hath out stript them, feare in him who should be his Superiour, because he equals him.

Such a flower is easily topt off. All great men are enemies to a greater; and so much the more implacable, by how much neerer him they are: But the Common people which hate the Magistracy of great men, reverence a great man: or rather because they hate the former, they love a greater man, and suffer him not willingly to be cut off, because they admire his beauty, injoy his shade, and by his leaves grow fat. To banish, to transplant him, and not cut his roots; to make him lose the Citie, and not lose his power, is a businesse ill underraken: hee loseth not his reputation amongst
his

his friends, if hee wins credit amongst strangers; he is desired in the City, and he desires the City: whereinto not able to returne a Subject, he sometimes endeavours to returne Master.

Sextus understands his wicked fathers counsell; and by sundry meanes he banisheth some of the chiefe Citizens, puts some to death, and leaveth way for some to escape; and dividing all their goods amongst the common people, by the sweet of profit, hee lulls them into a lethargie, from which they never did

did awake, till the Gabines liberty was at an end.

CRuell actions are so many *bolus*, which are never better taken, than when wrapt up in gold. Tyrants who being wise, are likewise liberall, have a good stocke to leane unto, but they seldome take that way; and if they doe, they keepe not long in it, for cruelty is seldome without avarice, by which if it bee not caused, it causeth it.

The publike good is a specious name; it is sought for with relation to the private; otherwise, men would cooperate as well under a good Prince, as under a common wealth.

That doctrine of Philosophers, that private good may bee preferd before the common good, is as pernicious when it beares with it
such

such a proportion, as the allowing wine to the sicke of a Fever. When sence is the incitor, things granted are alwayes exceeded, all rules enlarged, and an easie passage is made from things conditionall, to things absolute; who will take away the pravity of feeling, must not give way to the pleasure of seeing.

Where liberty is, if great men bee Magistrates, they are hatefull to the people; they willingly see them abased, nor are they aware that they are banks reared up, which though they hinder the sight, yet withstand inundations. The Common peoples hatred to the Senate is so naturall, that they continue it, yea under Princes; and Princes in my opinion (at least in this respect) ought to cherish a Senate, as a fit place for Subjects to vent their complaints on, who alwaies more willingly complaine of the Senate, than the Prince; either because they envie them more,

as being nearer them, or fear them
 lesse, as being lesse powerfull. The
 Senat matters not much, yet feares
 to breake off the peoples blowes,
 who passionately run their lances
 against a Saracin of wood; it is
 like fortune, which doth just no-
 thing in the world, and yet is al-
 waies curst for doing mischief.

*Tarquin makes peace with
 the Equi, renewes his
 league with the Tus-
 cans, and betaking him-
 selfe to City affaires,
 will finish the Temple of
 Jupiter Tarpeius.*

TYrants are wicked, yea in the
 building of Temples; they
 build them not so much for wor-
 ship, as to be worshipped: 'tis ra-
 ther policy, than religion. A wic-
 ked peece of Piety, to build great
 Temples

vid.
 sup.
 Pag.
 126.

Temples out of a desire of becoming great, to seeke worldly honour by things divine, to make God a cloake to hide ambition, and nourish our desires. The scum of the people partake of the Chyromancer; they will see the hand, to judge the heart: but how many are there who present themselves before God with hands of gold, and hearts of clay? Monuments of stone are fading; what is exposed to the injuries of time, cannot defend us from being thereby devoured. Good men need not to have their names written in Marble, whose actions live in the memories of men: bad men should not seeke to eternise their memories by Monuments, since oblivion is the greatest happinesse can befall them.

The

*The Temple being built,
wherein he had imployed
the people; he fell to the
causing of certaine com-
mon Shores be cleansed.*

TO set people accustomed to warre, about sordid busines-
ses, doth irritate them against the
letter on, and imbaseth them in the
eyes of their enemies.

The first and principall secret of
Tyranny, is to keepe friendship
with the people; which the op-
pression of great folkes hinders
not, but augments: 'tis the na-
ture of all things, that one part
rise as another falls; if it bee not
raised, 'tis eased: the people cover
quietnesse, plenty, safety, to live,
and suffer others live. That which
is hardest to a Prince, is easiest to a
Tyrant, whilest the latter practi-
seth upon the Nobility, the other
is by the Nobility hindred, which
oft

oft times doth tyrannize, when not tyrannized.

I hold it ever a difficult thing to maintaine a Principallty in a City, where the people and great men doe both agree in the desire of liberty, unlesse it bee done without weapons. 'Tis evidently seene, that *Tarquin* was no Tyrant by Art, but Nature; not for his safety, but delight: the people like better of a Tyrant, than of liberty; when liberty is not popular, and the Tyrant wise. A Tyrant hath none on whom more to trust, nor whom more to feare; hee hath no better friend, no worser enemy: he was therefore wise as I beleeve, who thought the government of a bad Prince, and an uncorrupted people, profitable for a Citie: the one is a curb to the Tyrant, the other to the Nobility. A Prince kept within bounds, a people not corrupted, and an humbled Nobility, makes an excellent composition.

Whilest

Whilest the Romanes were intent upon their affaires, a great prodigie appeares. A Serpent is seene to come out of a Columne of wood, which frightens, and puts to flight all the Court.

PRodegles which are fore-runners of things to come, are seldome regarded before the things bee come to passe; and if they be sometimes regarded, yet are they not understood. Many have beleeved, that in man also there are certaine seeds of Divination of future things, not knowne till they be past: I grant it, and should beleeve them to bee the motives of our tutelary Angels, were it not that they are unusefull, either for provision, or prevision. I feare me the

the Devill is the framer of prodigies : it seemes to bee the aime of one proud and envious. He shewes us things to come, that hee himselfe might reape honour ; hee suffers us not to know them, that wee may not thereby reape profit : or shall we say that those Starres which threaten or promise good or bad influences, whilst they dispose the matter, endeavour to introduce the forme, and whilst they doe introduce it, doe produce in such a place, such a thing, such a man, many things which precede, which accompany, and which follow ; which though they be not alwaies the same things, yet come they alwayes from the same things. That constellation which moveth the Serpent to enter the Court, is the same which moveth *Brutus* to drive out *Tarquin* from thence. Great alterations require great influences, which when they cause great diversity in their
wor-

working, happens not because the influences are divers, but because they are divers who receive them. Actions are not done by their agents in an instant; dispositions precede them, the truth of whose effects we doe not know, because the vertue of causes is unknowne to us.

Moreover, men of themselves understand not things to come, because while they seeke the helpe of Reason, they lose the assistance of the Starres; they with their disputes confound the motives of Nature; it is, perhaps, to punish our rashnesse, which willing to make use of the understanding, to arrive at that, where the understanding cannot sometimes arrive, goes not thither, whither Nature would lead it; its motive is on the sudden, whilest there is neither thought nor dispute about it; it is not minded, because not disputed; and therefore good, because not disputed. Hence it is that women
advise

advise well on the sudden, and that children and fooles prophesie; they say what heaven, not reason dictates to them.

Tarquin sends his two sons, Titus and Arons, to the Oracle; who take along with them, Junius Brutus, their sisters son; whom he had not onely suffered to live after having slaine his brother, but for his fate permitted him to keepe company with his sonnes.

Wicked men doe often ruine themselves, through Gods not permitting them to be wholly wicked (otherwise the world would be destroyed.) It seldome happens,

happens, that together with the feare of God, they lose the shame of infamie ; all wickednesse would succeed wel to them, were they not many times hindred by a desire of honesting them; and so whilst they will be wicked, and appeare good, they either undertake no greater wickednesse, or else it succeeds not ; but be it as you please ; let the Tyrant have strayed from reason in whatsoever manner, he hath not lost the desire of glory : it is true though, that he who erres in the generall, as he perswades himselfe, that what is bad, is good ; so knowing no other difference in the atchiving of renowne, than the greatnesse or poorenesse of the undertaking ; he indeavours sometimes a great fame, though purchased by never so great an infamie.

*This Brutus, who knew no
grea-*

greater safety under the Tyrant, than scorne and neglect, where a greatly good and greatly bad fame are equally dangerous, where iustice is not regarded, where knowledge is pernicious, betakes himselfe to madnesse, and assisted by his being naturally given to melancholy, by counterfeiting secures himselfe, leaving nothing for the Tyrant either to desire or feare.

MElancholy men doe so resemble mad-men, that when they are not busied about any thing,

thing, but idle, I cannot distinguish them from mad men, I had almost said from beasts; but when they doe any thing, I know them to be very wise, I had almost said, they contend with the intelligences. No other cloud, save *Brutus* his melancholy humour, could have shaded the Sun-beames of a great understanding; all other humours would either not have long deferred revenge, or for ever forgotten it. Long use of meats may change the habit of the body; long counterfeiting may shape a new habit in the understanding; for custome hath power to make that become naturall, which is not so.

Melancholy, which is not the dregs, but purest part of the blood, which is no cole, but pretious Jewell, is that which produceth *Heroes*, since bounding upon madnesse, it brings men to a sublimity, out of which one cannot passe, and within which all our wisedomes latitude extends it selfe.

L

He

He is greatly wise, who under a Tyrant can counterfeit a fooles part; it is a good peece of cunning, if the cunning be not discovered, for it is harder to play the foole, than to be wise; and I should hold it to be a very safe way, were not one onely action sufficient to take off the disguise, having no meanes of ever resuming it againe.

Brutus who was Master of this Art, with the turning of the Scene, ownes himselfe.

He makes himselfe knowne when hee drives out the Tyrant; hee unmaskes himselfe at the last Scene; every one commends him, when they consider him, because they

*they considered him not
till the end of the Tra-
gedie.*

TYRANTS ought more to feare
those who cloake their pas-
sions, than those who discover
them; these stand nakedly expo-
sed to the injuries of who hath a
minde to hurt them; the other de-
fend themselves behind the tren-
ches, from such as assault them,
that they may sally forth when it
is fit time to make assault. The
silly advised, and hare-brained
sole-hardy, flattery and libertie,
are equally dangerous to a Prince.
That man never sufficiently to be
praised, who speaking of a Ty-
rant, left in writing, how he fea-
red liberty, and hated flattery; per-
haps might as well have said, that
he hated liberty, and feared fla-
tery.

They come to the Oracle,
and after having made
known their Fathers de-
sires, they make inquiry
touching the succession of
the Kingdome; a voyce
was heard to answer, hee
of you shall reigne, who
shal first kisse his mother:
the two brothers agreed,
not to speake of this to
Sextus, who staid at
Rome, and to commit it
to Fortune, which of
them should first kisse
their mother; but Bru-
tus, seeming as if he fell,
kist the earth, as he who
knew

knew the answers of Oracles, not to be so cleere, but full of a thousand ambiguities.

THE Devill did not this as knowing what was to come, but he told what was to come, that he might procure that that might afterwards happen which hee had fore-told; hee endeavoured it to winne himselfe credit, God permitted it to punish humane arrogancie; it may be also the truth of Astrologicall predictions are rather caused by the Devill, than by the Starres; so by God permitted to confound our rashnesse, whereby it happens, that when wee would foretell things, wee doe it by the Devill. The desire to know things to come, is a desire to bee like God, and this was the fore-runner of originall sin: who tels them, is presumptuous; who in-

L 3

quires

quires after them, is vaine. Some seeme desirous to search into them, that they may incounter the good which thereby is promised, and shunne the evill which is thereby threatned; and many times by incounting the good, they lose it, and by shunning the evill, they meet with it; but they seeke after them, that they may finde what they desire; which if they finde not, they beleeve them not; they begge food for their present ambition, with the deceitful hopes of future greatnesse.

They returne with their answer to their Father, whom they find hath waged war with the Rutuli, and besieged Ardea.

TARQUIN would make good his expences by the riches of that

that people, and by ransaking that Citie, reunite his souldiers hearts, who were not well satisfied in their having changed their swords into mattocks ; and the emptying of their enemies bosome of bloud, into emptying of sinkes.

When the Treasury is emptied by magnificent expences, it is filled againe by wicked meanes.

Some Philosophers have held it good that Cities should be poore, that they might bee safe ; they would have them shunne envie, which hardly can be shund without falling into the hands of compassion. It is better being rich than poore ; riches may at any time be lost, but not povertie : The worst that can befall a prospering Citie, is the happinesse which they wish it ; these are things which heard of *à cathedra*, make men lowre ; but out of the Schooles provoke to laughter. If riches move desire, they are likewise a help to defence. For one time that a Prince is inci-

ted to invade States for the increase of his revenues ; hee is a thousand times spurd thereunto, out of a desire to enlarge his bounds. War is not usually good merchandise, whereby to become rich, but whereby to become great; more is consumed in the acquiring, than the thing acquired is worth; the gaine is alwayes uncertaine, the losse certaine.

Whilst they were besieging of Ardea, which siege was more tedious, than otherwise troublesome; Collatine, and other young men, supt one night with Sextus Tarquin, and warmed with overmuch wine, there grew a contention amongst

*mongst them concerning
their wives, each prai-
sing his owne above the
rest: they resolve to goe
find them out forthwith,
that they may be certain
of the truth.*

Wine molests the fancie, by
sending up into the braine
many grosse vapours; it bounds
them not, because they are hu-
mid; it agitates them, because they
are hot; and whilst by its steame it
represents many fancies, it affords
occasion of speaking much, and
considering nothing; it is good to
make mens hearts be knowne, but
not their braines: where there is
no cold, there is no judgement;
where no driness is, there is no
weighing of words.

Men are all prone to think well
of their wives; whether it pro-

L 5 ceeds

ceeds from their husbands great desire that they should be such, or from their cunning in appearing such; or from the gift of Nature, which is never wont to bee defective in things necessary: for I am of opinion, that if all things were knowne in them as they are, and not much beleaved of them, which is not, either more libertie ought to be allowed to women, and so change the law of honour; or if the former ought to be preserved, the latter ought more strictly to bee restrained; since through the misfortune of the generall, there are very few of them that are good, and through the good fortune of individuals, every man beleeves his to be one of them; whence it happens that a great part of worldly felicitie is taken upon trust, consisting more in beleeve, than reall being.

Men ought not talke of their wives, no not when sober; who speakes ill of them, incurre blame,
for

for it is the husbands fault if the wife be bad; who speaks well of them, is in danger to be practised upon, because hee moves desire; men desire the good they possesse should be knowne; and oft-times whilst they make it knowne, they make it be posselt: it is true that reall good is in its owne essence communicable, and by being communicated, receives increase; but ours, which is but an apparition, if communicated, is many times lost. Praise, if it be of any thing within us, is to be desired, because it cannot be taken from us; if of any thing without, or forth of us, it ought bee avoided, because it may be taken from us; praise makes it be desired, and desire makes us lose it: I wonder at those men who complaine of their being annoyed, when they have done all they are able to make themselves be annoyed: it is a great comfort, it is true, to possesse things commended by all men; but as Philosophie,

sophie, to counterpoize the vexations of the intellectuall, hath placed greatest honour there, where is greatest trouble: so Nature to counterpoize the pleasure of the sense, hath placed most danger there where most delight is.

These young men make haste, first to Rome, then to Collatia: they finde Lucretia, not like the Kings daughters in law, feasting and rioting; but amidst her women dividing out their work; they grant her the victory; and here being by her husband invited, a base lust ariseth in Sextus Tarquin, occasioned as well by the chastity as
by

by the beauty of Lucretia: the looke of a lascivious man, is like the looke of a Basiliske, it kils Chastitie by beholding it.

MEN lustfully given, cause all their senses, yea, the understanding it selfe to minister provocations for the satisfying of that sense; beauty, birth, sweet odours, harmony, all which have nothing to doe with feeling; and which is worse, Vertue herselfe, and amongst vertues, very Chastitie, the very opposite to Lust, doe more incite thereunto: Vertue is so lovely, that she makes her selfe be beloved, yea, even by Vice: those who have written that dishonest women desire that their lovers should bee endowed with all good things, except the understanding, understood it not well,

well (or else I am deceived) they desire their understandings should also be good in generall, only defective in one particular.

A small matter would satisfie the necessitie of Nature, if men made it not necessary to satisfie what is not necessary; what imports it to be clad in rich array, to live in stately Palaces, to feed on dainty cates, if all cloathes cover us, all houses shelter, and all meats satisfie us? we make necessitie become lust, to delight our selves yea in the imperfections of Nature. We thinke not the desire of one sense satisfied, if the other senses stand idle: wee cannot taste any one pleasure, if therein likewise our ambition be not delighted; no vice is bounded within it selfe: in such things Nature is not to be blamed, because they are not seene in those who worke onely according to Nature.

Many

Many dayes past not, ere
Sextus Tarquin retur-
ned to Collatia, with one
only companion, not ma-
king any mention thereof
to the rest; he was faire-
ly welcomed by her who
apprehended no deceit;
he supt, withdrew him-
selfe to his lodging, and
when he thought that all
were fast asleep, he came
with a naked dagger in
his hand to where Lu-
cretia lay; hee laid his
hand upon her brest; hee
hath recourse to the in-
struments of hatred, for
his

his assistance in love; and
hee who was wont by
sword to vent his angrie
passions, knowes not how
to lay it aside in tendrest
affections; he threatens
her, he speaks her faire,
and seeing her ready ra-
ther to imbrace death,
than him; ready rather
to lose her life than ho-
nour; he says hee will
kill some servant close
by her, to make her bee
beleev'd a foule adulte-
resse. See how this wic-
ked one threatens to be-
reave her of her honour,
that

that he may bereave her of it. Lucretia thus assaulted, with the same weapons wherewith shee defended her Chastitie, yeelded to Tarquins prevailing lust.

I For my part beleeve that Lucretia yeelded for feare of death, which certainly is much more fearefull, when expected from another, than when acted by ones selfe: and if this my opinion were not true, I should have much more cause to marvell at those who (under the rule of Tyrants) either despairing of life, or weary of that kinde of life, have slaine themselves. If those could not, or would not live, wherefore did they not endeavour to kill the Tyrant? The danger they should have run, would have beene the same they could not shun,

thun, or desired to meet withall; the reward which profered it selfe unto them, was hope of living honourably, or assurednesse not to die without glory: to say they were with-held by feare of torments, is idle: there is no torment more terrible than death; who feares not death, ought not beleeve any thing of feare to be in the world: and when he finds such a thing to be, he may alwayes have recourse to the other. Nature hath not bin so niggardly towards us, as not permitting us to live as long as we would, shee hath not at least allowed us a power of dying when we please; if hee lives not, who breathes not, and if not to breathe bee in our choice, who will may die.

Let it then be lawfull for men to say, that death is more horrid in the hands of an incensed man, than in our owne; and moreover, that it requires more courage, though there bee lesse danger, to kill another,

other, than to kill ones selfe; the one proceeds from animosity, the other oft-times either from the weaknesse of the braine, or poorenesse of courage; for a generous heart seldome findes the way so shut, as that hee cannot make his death glorious. It is a yeelding to Fortune, against which, the couragious, till their last gaspe, fight undauntedly. How many filly women are there who have slain themselves, when they durst not have looked upon, much lesse have abided the lookes of an incensed man? And how many are there, who to shun the enemies sword, have throwne themselves downe from rockes, buried themselves in bogs, and drowned themselves in water, without any hope of life?

*Tarquin overjoyd, departs
triumphant; saddest Lu-
cretia remaines over-
whelmed*

whelmed with griefe;
 shee sends for her father
 and her husband. Spu-
 rius Lucretius comes
 and brings with him
 Publius Valerius; Lu-
 tius Junius Brutus ac-
 companieth Collatine;
 shee acquainteth them
 with what is past, which
 said, sorrowfull as shee
 was, I perswade my
 selfe shee added these
 like words.

“AND what could unfortu-
 “A nate Lucretia doe? if shee
 “had died that shee might have
 “lived chaste, you would have
 “thought her slaine for having
 “beene

“been unchaste, O most cruell Law
“of Honour, which savest not
“the innocent; A law never de-
“scended from Heaven, but
“come from the deepest *Abyss* of
“Hell.

“I who would have mine ho-
“nestie knowne to all, have more
“studied glory than chastity; and
“whilst I sought after the name
“of Chaste, I am with infamie be-
“come unchaste: I thought death
“the worst of all evils; I thought
“it the cure of all misfortunes; I
“feared nothing, since I feared
“not to die, yet now I was in-
“fort to chuse life, so not to
“lose mine honour, and by my li-
“ving have lost it.

“I am resolved to die, if not
“for what hath already befallne
“mee, at least for what may here-
“after happen unto mee. But
“what then? If I dye, I shall
“seeme to acknowledge I have
“done amisse; they will say my
“guilty conscience kild me.

“If

" If I live, you will beleeve I
 " have done amisse, you will say
 " I consented out of too much de-
 " fire of life. O, of all others most
 " unfortunate *Lucretia*, whose in-
 " nocencie neither life nor death
 " can justifie.

" This Soule (*O Collatine*)
 " whose delight was chastity, ab-
 " hors now that body which is
 " polluted; and as being wholly
 " thine, cannot endure that that
 " part of mee should have any lon-
 " ger being, which can no more be
 " only thine.

" The wicked wretch did never
 " prostrate mee; it was not *Lu-*
 " *cretia*, it was a Carkasse; for the
 " Soule is not where it consents
 " not; sinne is the off-spring of
 " the will, not of the body; where
 " consent is not, there is no sin;
 " but I should think my selfe wor-
 " thie of death, if he had only de-
 " fired mee; and blame my selfe,
 " though without fault, for that I
 " pleased him.

" O

"O Beauty, perniciously coveted by our unsound mindes, you
"onely serve those that possesse
"you, that you may be desired by
"who possesseth you not. Fraile
"and fading vanitie of the body,
"whereby the eternall beauty of
"the Soule is sullied; who is in-
"dowed with you, or sinneth
"with you, or causeth sin through
"you.

"But what was it in mee that
"encouraged that wicked one
"to so great mischief? perhaps
"my honesty, which hee thought
"greater than that of others. Most
"sacred honesty, art thou then be-
"come an inciter to lust? and in
"stead of defending, offendest?
"Dost thou in stead of bridling
"desires, egge on to fury and vio-
"lence?

"His heart, where crueltie is
"harboured, which can kill none
"but the innocent, is likewise a
"receptacle of lust, which can co-
"vet none but the chaste: to have
"what

“ what they desire, is not that the
“ *Tarquins* doe desire; they find no
“ pleasure where they use no force;
“ and like Lightning, rend most
“ where they finde most resistance.

“ And whicher can unfortunate
“ *Lucretia* goe for revenge? to the
“ Kings family, who hath injured
“ me? to mine own friends, whom
“ I have injured? You gods of
“ Hospitality, it is you I call up-
“ on: but to what purpose call I
“ on you, since you have permit-
“ ted it? Revenge me, you infernal
“ powers; but why invoke I you,
“ who were his assistants?

“ I my selfe will revenge my
“ selfe, and will by death take grea-
“ ter revenge on this mine ene-
“ mie, than by living.

“ I will dye, not to lessen my
“ faults, but to aggravate his; not
“ for that I have sinned, but to
“ shew that shee did not subject
“ her selfe to sense, who volunta-
“ rily deprives her selfe of sense.

“ I will die, that I may not live
“ in

"in so wretched times, which
"make life a shame; and to bee
"borne, a mis-fortune. My fall
"shall ease your thoughts, make
"my revenge happy; and I, who
"will not live an example of dishonour to women, will dye an
"example of fortitude to men.

*This said, shee plunged a
knife into her heart, and
fell downe dead there-
on.*

*The Father and Husband
stood shedding unprofitable
tears, over the body
of Lucretia; they com-
passionated that chance,
which not being naturall,
ought rather to have mo-
ved anger in them, and*

M ani-

animated them to revenge, than have incited them to pittie, and bedewed them with their teares: But Brutus the punisher of teares, drawing the knife from forth the wound, wills them, they to take an oath to drive out the Tarquins; he speakes not of killing them: Herein his revenge is not of large enough extent, it reacheth not to life; hee will have them sweare, not to suffer any more in Rome, any regall power:
berein

herein it extends it selfe too farre, it reacheth to that forme, which is not in fault. But Brutus, who hated more the Regall power, than the Kings faults, moves rather against his State, than life; more to vindicate Romes liberty, than to revenge Lucretia.

HE who is endowed with valour and wisdom, makes his passions serve him in all his achievements; he useth vengeance as long as he knowes it usefull, and thinkes it folly to hazard both life and goods in killing of one, by whose death, nothing but the name of revengefull can be purchased.

Lucretias chance is the occasi-

M 2

on,

on, not the cause of the commotion against *Tarquin*.

Some writers say that *Brutus* caused her dead body bee carried into the market place: I beleeve he first recounted the case with as powerfull exaggerations as hee could, and in the heat of his discourse, shewed *Lucretia* body: for certaine, if hee did not use this manner of proceeding, he should have used it. Sight moves more than hearing, and gradation should begin with the meanest. It is almost incredible to beleeve what great effects the representation of somewhat to the eye doth worke, when mens hearts are formerly by speech prepared in any Tragical case. Few can forbear from teares, it moves compassion in all, anger suddenly gets in, and oftentimes fury.

States have no greater enemy than Rhetoricke, such writings should bee burnt, and the teachers banisht, were not Nature her Mistresse:

stresse : A wise man who is bold and eloquent, is an ill instrument for a Common wealth.

All the Citizens of Collatia take armes, and leaving the Gates well guarded, that the newes may not be brought to the King, they goe to Rome, where having assembled the people, Brutus having related the adultery committed by Sextus Tarquin; I beleeeve hee might breake forth into some such like exclamation:

“ **W**ill you still suffer this
“ ravenous cruell lustfull
“ Tyrant ? To what end doe you
M 3 “ bring

“bring up your sonnes? To
“what end give you educati-
“on to your daughters? To what
“end doe you heape up riches?
“for a cruelty, which will kill
“them? for a lust, which will
“strumpet them? for an avarice,
“which will take them from you?

“If you beare with him in
“hopes that hee may change, 'tis
“vanity; if because you feare him,
“'tis madnesse: who shuns death,
“encounters with it; and who
“encounters, shuns it.

“A Tyrant is a monster, hee is
“by nature intended onely for a
“scourge to men: hee workes
“not well to the end hee was
“ordained to, if hee worke
“not ill: nor best nor worst can
“be safe under him. Hee equally
“feares and hates the good of
“good men, and the bad of wic-
“ked; and where hee findes no-
“thing neither to bee feared nor
“hated, he despiseth lukewarmnes.

“Mongst barbarous people,
“where

where bodies governe the mind,
where rationality is in habit, not
in act, where to command is sla-
very, to obey liberty: let there
be regall power; they are people
which thinke themselves free,
when they are freed from the
burthen of commanding.

“To desire liberty and shun ser-
vitude, is naturall to very beasts;
and man seeming to be of worse
condition than brute beasts,
which as rationall passe by the
greater delights of sense to shun
subjection; hee as irrationall,
passing by the better reasons of
the understanding, precipitates
himselfe into servitude, as if sla-
very were the greatest sensuality.

“The Gods have made all
soules equall, all bodies of the
same materialls; and if they en-
dowe one species with more no-
bleness than another, they doe
not so in individuals. Where-
fore shall wee then make him
greater than all, whom nature
M 4 hath

“hath not made greater than any
“one ?

“What take you him to be ? he
“is a man, and one who hath no
“more braines than other men,
“unlesse when hee makes use of
“other mens braines, who hath
“no more power than you, but
“onely in that you obey him ;
“shall then your owne power sub-
“ject you to a braine, which is not
“that which governes you ?

“If a Common wealth be liber-
“ry, a Kingdome is servitude; nor
“is it the more to be prayfed if it
“be voluntary ; rather he is more
“to bee blamed who serves out of
“weaknesse, than hee who serves
“enforst by necessity.

“When time requires recourse
“to daring, there ought no re-
“course bee had to patience :
“patience doth well in generous
“breasts, to assuage necessity, and
“there it becomes fortitude : In
“all other places 'tis basenesse of
“minde , unlesse it bee assumed
“when

“when time serves, to bee laid a-
“side when time serves.

„What is't you expect? per-
“haps the old Kings death; per-
“haps yee hope better in a new
“succession; A good Prince is
“seldome followed by a better, a
“bad one often by a worse. Na-
“ture proceeds thus in humane
“things: evill of it selfe alwayes
“increaseth, good alwayes dimi-
“nisheth. Who will make the
“sonnes better than the father?
“Their temperature is composed
“of the blood of two wicked
“ones; they are educated by a
“Tyrant, borne in a commanding
“Family, more proud than *Tar-*
“*quin*, for they are likely to bee
“more insupportable, who
“brought up in good fortune,
“have no reason to remember or
“feare bad.

“To say that good Princes
“ought to be begg'd of the gods,
“and to be borne withall be they
“what they please, is an instructi-

" on how to live, but not how to
 " live well ; it belongs to slaves,
 " not free men ; it hath respect ra-
 " ther to the retchlesnesse of
 " subjects, than honour. When a
 " Prince cannot be made good, he
 " ought to bee driven out bad as
 " he is : he is not to bee suffered,
 " who by sufferance becomes
 " worse.

" The world is growne so cor-
 " rupt, that a good Prince is not so
 " much as to be hoped for. Wise-
 " dome makes him not bee the
 " more esteemed, but craft ; the
 " names of things are changed :
 " goodnesse, is rearmed simplici-
 " ty ; Tyranny, policie : and a
 " Prince is thought so much the
 " greater, by how much more hee
 " hath enlarged his Empire or Au-
 " thoritie ; nor are the meanes ex-
 " amined how hee enlarged them,
 " he is praised onely because hee
 " hath enlarged them.

" *Tarquins* lust is not extingui-
 " shed by *Lucretias* death : 'twill
 " be

“bee more raging if it remaine unpunished. The calamities of others may be a lesson to you: ’tis true, the good which is learned by what befalls ones selfe, is counterpoysed by disasters: he knowes much, to whom much hath befallne; but who can learne by another mans harme, say hee be lesse wise, hee is for certaine more fortunate.

“To conclude, bee a Princene-ver so good; hee ought alwayes be feared, because he is powerful; and ’tis better to die soone, than to live long in feare.

“Let your bosomes be no more exposed to the losse of blood, for the increase of that city which belongs to another; by the gaines whereof you reape nothing but blood, and wounds; are you not aware that you conquer Nations to *Tarquin*s tyranny? that by bringing others into bondage, you make your owne slavery the greater; and that like
“wood,

“wood, you augment that flame
“which doth consume you?

“No longer suffer that your
“hands accustomed by deeds of
“fame to bring home glorious
“triumphs, wherewithall to adorne the Capitoll, be practised
“in sordid labour, and emptying
“vaults of foule uncleannesse.

“Goe to, Citizens ; deceive
“your selves no longer through
“ignorance of your selves ; hence
“forward, know your owne
“strength ; loyter no longer in an
“enterprife, which can by nothing
“bee made difficult, but by
“loytering. Now that you have
“one to lead you, you will not
“want followers. First motions
“against a Tyrant are difficult ; to
“move is to overcome : 'tis hard
“to finde a leader ; every one will
“follow, a leader being found. All
“mens wills are alike opposite to
“Tyrants, they are not alike
“shewne because all are not alike
“daring. Ile be your head to drive
“out

“out your king, your companion
“in forming of a common wealth,
“the first in danger, the last in hap-
“pinesse.

Brutus his words make a sudden impression in the people: he who would have them follow him, needs no other bait than the name of liberty. For ought I know 'tis a word of enchantment, which hath not its force within, but without its selfe, for I know not what it is.

If by liberty bee intended a power of doing what one will, 'twill turne to licentiousnesse, and that government which hath most thereof, will be worst. If thereby be meant a power of doing what is convenient, it needed not bee parted from Principality, under which what is convenient hath no lesse place, than under a Commonwealth: and if thereby be understood a power of commanding others, 'tis so much lesse for the Common people which obey, by how much
their

their servitude is extended to a number of masters: but 'tis but a Chimera, which men faine unto themselves, to bring their wils to passe, and oftentimes to sweeten the beginning of a bitter servitude. Barbarous people come sometimes to that height of ignorance, that though their feet bee shackled, they thinke their liberty consists in the tongue.

The opinion which was held of *Brutus* his foolishnesse, stood him in good stead; they thinke it forebodes something, to heare one speake so well, who they hardly did beleieve could speake; his speech was then of so much more force, by how much it was formerly thought full of weaknesse: they looke for no cunning in a man, whom they judge in his *puris naturalibus*.

Men who are accounted very wise, are by their wisdom greatly injured: men either hearken not to what they say, or weigh not what

what they hearken to. Every word breeds doubts; they thinke demonstration to be the deceits of knowledge, and not the efficacy of truth: as if knowledge were a kind of leger de maine which cozeneth the eye sight. By reason of this fatality of not beleeving the advice of the wise, so many men, families, common wealths, and kingdomes run to ruine.

Brutus departs; and at the same time (but by another way) when he goes to the army, where he is with applause received, Tarquin comes to Rome, where as an exile man he is repulst.

TIs easie to shut the doore against one that is abroad, but 'tis hard to drive one out that is

is within. 'Twas observed as a maxime by a wary Tyrant, and 'twas written by a discreet writer, that the Metropolis of the Empire is never to be abandoned for whatsoever cause.

He who is upon the place, sees the originall of tumults; and because beginnings are usually weak, he easily hinders their proceedings, who with courage & without delay, makes head against them.

Many things in the world resemble smoake, their beginning is but smal, their end great; and many resemble the winde, whose beginning is boysterous, and end weake. He saves himselfe from the former who suffers them not to increase, from the later he who suffers them to blow over: progresse of time may be expected in the one, where the other ought to be smotherd in the cradle. Melancholy men are apt to overcome such difficulties as are strongest in the beginning; cholericke mē, such as gather their force by peccemeale. Tar-

Tarquin retires towards the Tuscans, and is followed by two of his sons. His youngest son Sextus flies to the Gabins, where in stead of being received, he was slaine.

A Tyrant either stands on the top of the wheele, or falls to the bottome; his fortune findes no meane where to take footing; the wheele no sooner turns, but he falls headlong downe. The Gabins who formerly did receive him, when clad like a Lambe which flies from the Wolfe, now knowing him better, opened their gates, not to save him, but to shut him up. His fate leads him thither, where hee hath trespassed, that those who were injured, might revenge themselves: he flies from one who expels him, and goes to another who kills him.

Sextus

Sextus betakes himselfe to the Gabins, for though hee hath lost that force and reputation, which made him be feared and esteemed, yet hee thinking himselfe rather beloved by them, than but tolerated, not having lost those qualities which he thought desireable, returnes to them.

The Tyrant who heares himselfe flattered, thinkes himselfe beloved; he thinkes his being had in reverence, to bee the fruits of his wisdom: and because hee makes away with all those whom hee hates, he thinkes nothing remains for him but love: he seeth himselfe honored, and beleeves he doth deserve it; not knowing that it proceeds from his cruelty, not worth.

And wherewithall are men easier deceived, than by being honoured? They suddely imagine in themselves some merit to which it is due; and though sometimes they know they deserve it not, they are so infatuated with the desire

fire that the reverence done them should be reall and not fained, as they rather beleeve he that honors them is himselfe deceived, than that hee deceives them.

This is the greatest of all affections, the last, which departs not but with the last breath; common to both good and bad; affected likewise by those who seeme not to value it.

Observance, reverence, humble bowings of the body, are enchantments, are adulations, which are often done with the feet; and are so much worse than those which are done by the tongue, by how much they seem to be more lawfull, by how much they are more concealed. The honour therefore which Subjects use unto their Princes, ruins them; for they whom for our owne interests wee honour, beleeve it done for their deserts; and honour being indeed the reward of vertue, they are not aware that sometimes too
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it is yeilded to Titles and Riches.

These are the actions done by Lucius Tarquin the Proud, in the progresse of his reigne of five and twentie yeares ; after which Aristocracie was constituted.

BRUTUS was to blame in the framing of the Commonwealth, to make it too much Aristocraticall; for had he granted in those beginnings a share of government unto the people, hee would not have necessitated them to assume the whole unto themselves; nor would he have put the Citie in danger of being lost, in those Tumalts, wherein if he did not ruine the Commonwealth, he did for certaine ruine the forme of that Commonwealth. Perhaps,

Brutus

Brutus beleev'd, the people would give way to the Majestie of the Senate.

States which are maintained by Art, may well continue, if managed by intelligent Arts-men; but this but for a while; Art will be discovered, nor can it be conceal'd, if it be often used: if the Cocke should tarry long where the Lion is, after having some few times been afraid of his crowing, the Lion would devoure him: when that would be made seeme to be, which is not, it must be cursorily done, if any good successe be expected.

Hee who in the beginning of Common-wealths doth constitute the best forme, doth not constitute the most durable; when a man can climbe no higher, and cannot stay himselfe upon a point indivisible, he must down again, and so doing, oftentimes precipitates himselfe. So a Common-wealth reduced to the very best forme, not able to retaine it, whilst it seekes after what
is

is naturall, it oft-times falls upon what is violent, which doth corrupt it. A man must shape his designs according to his materials, and of what he cannot make a Colossus, be contented to make a Statue no bigger than the life.

The most part of Cities, w^{ch} once freed from the hands of Tyrants, have fallen into them againe, have done it by reason of this: great judgement is required in the sounding what forme a City is capable of; and one ought not alwayes thinke of forming there a Common-wealth; but sometimes where a Tyrant is driven forth, a King should be erected, to shun the ensuing of another Tyrant.

There is no man, how wise soever, who being a former, or reformer, Institutor or Law-maker, doth not commit some errors in his first Ordinations, Statutes or Lawes, which in the proceſſe of time may ruine his structure; that Machine is onely of duration, which in the
first

first appearing of errors, or in the correcting of them, runs not totall ruine.

It is apparant that the City of Rome, whose people had their weapons in their hands, and were every day versd in the atchivement of new States, did rather require a Democraticall than Aristocraticall government; and that not being to be withstood by a greater force, she would come to it of her selfe; it was therefore her great good fortune, that in approching thereunto shee fell not, because she made her approach leasurely.

It is worthy observation, how the formes of state require a disposed matter, the which they no sooner find, but they introduce themselves: it is not men which constitute Cōmon-wealths, or yet Principalities, but a certaine nature or power of interest, which though not knowne suffers them not to be in quiet, till it hath brought them where they have a great proportion;

on ; just as it useth to befall elements, which not knowing whether they goe, being led by a naturall instinct, never are at quiet, till they arrive at that place, which though being naturall unto them, was not knowne by them. Water in its proper sphere is not heavie ; and common people in their naturall forme are easily governed, nor can they be takē out, or withheld from thence, without a not lasting violence.

Had not *Tarquin* beene driven out by *Brutus*, and had the regall power yet a little longer endured, I doe almost, nay, undoubtedly assure my selfe, that Rome had never tasted the sweets of Liberty ; not for that the corruptions which were in the King, (as some have beleeved,) entring into the other members of the Citie, had disabled her for this purpose, but because that hee would totally have extinguished the Senate, the memory whereof being forgotten,
the

the hope of liberty would have been likewise lost.

Those Monarchies which are governed Monarchically, where one onely commands, and all the rest obey, have seldome an end; but those which by meanes of a Senate are governed Aristocratically, end most commonly in an Aristocracie.

I seldome find that the Senate of Rome hath cast away their chiefe; conspiracies would be sudden, and knowne but to a few, here they are slow, and knowne to many: the greatest harme occasioned hereby to a Prince, is the holding alwayes before the citizens eyes, the picture of Liberty; those who see it, desire it, hope for it; and when they happen upon a Tyrant Prince, there wants not some amongst them, who will adhere to the bringing in thereof.

A Senate when uncorrupted, alwayes endeavours equality, and whilst it endeavours that none be greater than other, it is true, it

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makes

makes a Tyrant lyable to the danger of a Common-wealth, which may arise; but it doth almost secure him from the ambition of such as seek after Principality.

But bee the effects of Senates good or bad to Princes, it is apparant that Princes cannot endure them, and that they endeavour to destroy them. Some of which leaving the Titles to Magistrates, have taken away from them the substance; and these have augmented authority, but not secured dominion; others have assayed to extinguish the Senate, by suffering the old Senatours to dye by course of nature, and not substituting new ones in their places; but this being too tedious a way, requiring the life of more than one Prince, it hath seldome succeeded well, because seldome doe two Princes succeed of the same minde, *Tarquin* had likewise this intent, and to free himselfe from the difficultie caused by the length of time, hee
put

put them to death; nor yet did this cause good successe unto him: A long cruelty is, by the speech of men, too long remembred and the Prince sooner ends his life, than his cruelty. Moreover, by reducing the Senatours to a small number, where the forme of a Senate is corrupted, the forme of a conspiracie is initiated.

There was one, who on the contrary part, did in his first entrance into government, at one clap put downe a whole magistracie, and he had good successe in living quietly amongst his citizens, and likewise in subduing of strangers, till such time as he met with greater forces than his owne: this mans case, because it succeeded well, hath beene by some wicked men in their writings commended, and his example by some lewd Princes imitated; it was neither well written, nor well imitated; the one hath reaped little honour by teaching it, the other little profit by following it.

This did not damnifie *Cleomenes*, for he did not extinguish that Magistracie to tyrannize, but to reforme the Citie, and shewing that the *Ephori* would have hindred his right end, being of themselves wicked, that act bore rather the face of Justice than cruelty: it is not cruelty, when a good Prince puts wicked men to death, because they may not hinder his goodnesse; and if it bee cruelty, it is not misbecomming; but then it is cruelstie when a bad Prince puts good men to death, that they may not hinder his wicked proceedings. He left no desire of revenge, because it was calmly executed; nor did hee afterwards give any occasion of revenge, for that to a severe beginning, hee added a pleasing progresse: and as small present occasions, have no great operation, if they be not preceded by weighty past causes, so weighty past causes have no operation at all, if they want a present occasion.

Tarquin

Tarquin did not onely exasperate the Senate, but made the common people value him but a little, by his imploying them about buildings: which in my opinion was a great cause of his ruine.

A Prince who hath the people for his friends, let him take heed of treachery, for he may almost secure himselfe from insurrections; hee may be slaine, never driven out. I know that people, though never so much bound unto their Prince, will sometimes be provoked by a sudden scorne, or perswaded by a man of worth. But let him take heed of tumults caused by hatred, for such are not to be withstood, whereas those that are occasioned by a flash of anger, or sildly applied eloquence, may be remedied by discretion.

In such a case the people doe nought at all, if not in an instant, he who hath beene assisted by them in the act, let him feare them when 'tis done, for the act is no sooner done,

than by them repented; and often times they turne themselves against him that did perswade them, either because they will revenge their Prince, or else cancell their owne shame. Water which contrary to its nature is heated, no sooner parts from what did heat it, but it returnes to it first condition: the witchcraft of Rhetorique being ended, which is not long a doing, or the fire of anger being over, which suddenly vanisbeth; nothing remaines in the common people but shame, for having appeared against a benefactor.

He who writ of so many things, and writ so masterlike in all, for the maintaining of Tyranny, praises the imploying of the people about building; and yet this was perhaps the cause why *Tarquin* lost his: nor was this only caused by their being rather sordid than magnificent, but likewise by the difference betweene taking people from a chargeable idlenesse, imploy-

employing them in a usefull labor, and the taking of them from the molestations of warre, employing them in the labors of the mattock. Nothing makes the troubles of war more supportable, than the rest and quiet which is hoped for at home; nor is there any thing encourageth more to fight against enemies, than hope of acquiring glory amongst friends: 'tis strange then, that rest after war should bee greater labour, and the glory thereof turned to shame.

The examples alledged by that author, are either of barbarous people, their Princes slaves, and who know no other glory, than their belly: or els of Tyrants, who having usurped the liberty, wherein the people had a large share, had reason rather to feare the peoples leasure times, than the hatred of the great ones. But the Romanes were civilized subjects, not slaves, accustomed to war, wonted to victory, lovers of repose, when it did
not

not repugne their glories but *Tarquin* had not usurped the peoples liberty, but had rather freed them from the oppression of great ones, over whom till then, he was onely Tyrant.

Pride likewise had her share in *Tarquins* losse: by pride Princes thinke to shun contempt, and they meet with hatred; they thinke thereby to become majesticall, and they become detested: majestie requires mildnesse, not pride; which is signified by them, who did assigne both these, as inseparable qualities, to the Easterne beames of *Jupiter*. But this is a vice almost not to bee seperated from great ones; there is nothing makes us more beleeve, that the sin of the cheefest angel in heaven was pride, than because he was cheefest. Astrologers (suppose their art be vaine) have notwithstanding united pride to greatnesse, whilst they make the Sonne in regard of manners, the insufer of pride, which in regard

gard of dignity, they make the dispenser of principalities.

But to what end doe I continue numbring up his errors, if his whole life was one compact error? He could not maintaine Tyranny by goodnesse, accosting it to monarchy, nor yet by craft, keeping it farre distant from monarchie: he was more rash than politique; more wicked, than warie; he lived ill himselfe, hee brought up worse sons; and being himselfe a wicked king, he left no hopes of a good successour.

I deny not but that he was a valiant Captaine, but to what purpose? If war be to a Tyrant pernicious, either hee commits the trust thereof to others, and incurs danger of him who commands the army, or else hee goes himselfe in person, and runs in danger of those who stay behinde. He who praiseth a warlike Tyrant, would (it may be) understand it of one that had beene so, or at least of one
that

that did not only wage war with city armes, but likewise with those of strangers, wherewithall hee might bridle a tumultuating Army, or oppresse a City that should rebell.

I cannot conclude this my discourse better, than by calling to minde to all those that read it, the thanks due to Almighty God, for having caused us be borne in times abounding with good Princes, when Christianity lives happy, void of Tyrants. The most holy, most wise, and most loving head whereof exalted above others, like to the brasen Serpent, is of power and force to free us from the bittings of such Serpents, if they should arise: and because God doth sometimes permit Tyrants, for the chastisement of mankind; to see that all his people are this day governed by excellent Princes, makes me beleeve, that the world (whatsoever others thinke) is not now worse than it hath beene, and that
if

TARQUIN.

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If there be some wicked men that
irritate his Justice, there be like-
wise some good, that excite his
mercy. The which mercy I pray,
and humbly turne to pray againe,
that it will please his divine good-
nesse, to make us partakers of
now, and in the houre
of death.

FINIS.